

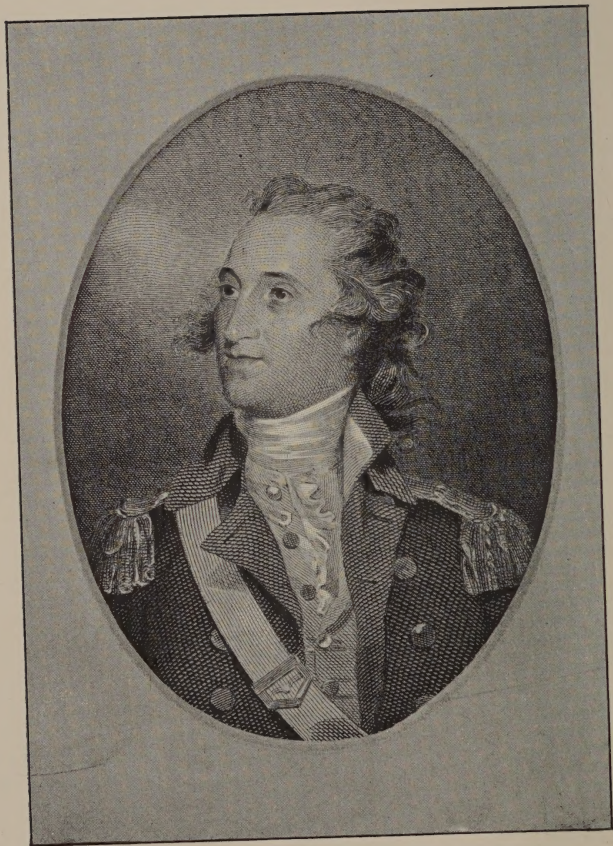


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Thomas Pinckney

LIFE OF GENERAL THOMAS PINCKNEY

BY HIS GRANDSON

REV. CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY, D. D.

PRESIDENT OF THE SOUTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL SOCIETY



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TO
THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI
IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
THIS SKETCH
OF THE FOURTH PRESIDENT-GENERAL OF
Our Order
IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED
BY THEIR FELLOW-MEMBER
CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY
PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI
IN THE STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA

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THE LIFE OF GENERAL THOMAS PINCKNEY.

INTRODUCTION.

ANCESTRAL. 1692-1758.

THE Pinckneys are of English descent, sprung from a family widely scattered over England. The ancestor William Fitz Ansculf de Pinkeni, with his son William, were among "the twenty thousand thieves, who came over with William the Conqueror," as Emerson irreverently designates the roots of the British aristocracy. From the numerous manors granted to him in various English counties, I infer that the father was a doughty warrior, who struck some hard blows at the battle of Hastings. His descendants are found in the southern, midland, and northern counties, at the present day. In Salisbury and Peterborough cathedrals, and in Rushall Church in Somerset, their monuments can be traced back for many generations. Though holding extensive estates in many parts of England, their names are not prominent in political history. Robert de Pinkeni was one of the Barons who took up arms against King John, and thereby lost his estates, to his credit be it recorded. They were restored to him by Henry III. One, Baron de Pinckeney, was called to Par-

liament in the reign of Edward I. Another, Baron Pinkeny, of Wedon, founded an abbey in Northamptonshire, and set apart a portion of his lands for its endowment. As the name of the abbey has disappeared, it was probably one of those which the voracious Henry VIII. suppressed for his own and his courtiers' benefit. One of his descendants was present at the Parliament of Lincoln, A. D. 1301, and subscribed the letter to Pope Boniface, denying his pretensions to the kingdom of Scotland. His signature, "Dominus de Wedena," with his pendent seal, still remain attached to the original document, in the Chapter House at Westminster.

The only event in the family history which rises above the general level is the claim of one of the name to the crown of Scotland, in the time of Bruce and Baliol, through his grandmother, Alice de Lyndsay. "Alice had married Sir Henry de Pinkeney, a great baron of Northamptonshire. Her grandson Sir Robert Pinkeney claimed the crown of Scotland at the competition in 1292, as descended from the Princess Margery, through his grandmother Alice de Lyndsay."

At the request of the estates of Scotland, the chief claimants, Baliol, Bruce, and Sir Robert (there were six others), submitted the case to the arbitration of the English king. They were all Norman barons, all held estates alike in England and Scotland, and were subjects of the English crown; they all rested their claims upon their descent from the daughters of the Earl of Huntingdon, in whose heirs the right to the crown un-

doubtedly vested. Edward accepted the office of arbitrator, and decided in favor of John Baliol, the representative of the eldest daughter. The unfortunate Baliol did not long enjoy his crown; he was dethroned by Edward, abjured his rights in his sovereign's favor, was sent to the Tower of London, and afterwards banished to France, where he died in obscurity.

After several years of anarchy the Scottish crown was transferred from the English king to Robert Bruce the younger, upon whose heroic brow it finally, and most worthily, rested.

Sir Robert de Pinkeney therefore missed the precarious honor of the Scottish throne, but he also escaped the fate of the unhappy Baliol. He paid, however, the penalty of taking part in a game where the stake was a royal crown. His estates in Scotland were confiscated by the Scottish authorities, and conferred by Bruce upon Sir Alexander Lyndsay and other loyal followers. His name disappears from Scotch history, and though no act of banishment is recorded, we may infer that he would regard the south side of the Tweed as a safer and more desirable residence than Scotland could offer, in the stormy days of Bruce and Baliol. Whether he returned to his ancestral home in Northamptonshire, or sought shelter in the neutral territory of the Bishop of Durham, does not appear. Many of his name are still found in the counties of York and Durham.

We find that one Sir Henry de Pinkeney surrendered his barony of Wedon to King Edward I., whether from choice, or necessity, is not stated.

If he was the son of the candidate for the Scottish crown, that may explain this remarkable act of generosity. The family had become by the course of events competitors with their king; and this sacrifice of property may have been a politic move to appease the royal displeasure. That the loss of this barony did not strip him of all his property appears evident from the fact that, in 1302, he was summoned by writ to serve with his retainers against the Scots.

In tracing the family genealogy through ancient records, we are amused by the contempt of these bold barons for orthography. They spurn all such pedantic trammels, and spell their names as they please. In the same document, like Shakespeare, they use two and three modes of misspelling the word.

Pincheni, Pinching, Pinqueny, Pinkeni, Pinkeny, Pinkeney, Pinckeney, indicate the changes through which the Norman word passed, until it settled down into the present form, Pinckney or Pinkney. Though this family may claim some originality in transcribing their name, they are very deficient in contrast with others of their Norman contemporaries. Lord Lyndsay has enumerated eighty different modes of spelling his family name, in the course of their migration from the banks of the Seine to their English and Scotch homes.

Three branches of the Pinckney family emigrated to America; one to West Chester, New York, in 1684, one to South Carolina in 1692, and one to Maryland about 1750. William

Pinkney, the jurist and statesman, who occupies the front rank among the orators of our country, was the most conspicuous figure in this latter branch, and stands prominent among those who have adorned the history of Maryland.

The first of this name who came to South Carolina was Thomas Pinckney. He visited the West Indies and the Carolinas in 1691, on a tour of exploration. His first act after his arrival in Charleston was to testify to an outrage upon the British flag, by a Spanish frigate on the high seas. His deposition is still in the record office. As his Majesty's representative records his name as "Thomas Pinckney, Gentleman," we may infer that he was not one of those who "left his country for his country's good," and that neither the gallows nor the whipping-post was the inciting cause of his emigration. The province made so favorable an impression that in the following year, 1692, he made Carolina his home. His wife was Mary Cotesworth of Durham. He was a man of independent fortune, and built a house at the corner of East Bay and Tradd Street, where he lived and died. The Bay was not then encumbered with houses on its water front, but commanded a full view of the harbor, as the East Battery now does.

One personal anecdote is recorded of him. In looking out of his windows upon the Bay, he observed a vessel just arrived from the West Indies, landing her passengers. As they walked up the street, he was attracted by the appearance of a very handsome stranger gayly dressed, and, turn-

ing to his wife, remarked, "That handsome West Indian will marry some poor fellow's widow, break her heart, and ruin her children." His words were in part prophetic, for, dying shortly after, *his* widow married the gay West Indian, George Evans, and though he did not break her heart, as she lived to marry a third husband, he often gave her the heartache by his extravagance, squandering the patrimony of her children. Enough, however, was saved to enable them to have a liberal education.

Thomas Pinckney settled a plantation on the Ashepoo River, which he called Auckland in memory of Bishop Auckland in Durham, his former home. He died of yellow fever early in the last century, leaving three sons: Thomas, an officer in the British army, who died young; Charles, the chief justice, and William, commissioner in equity.

Charles was educated in England, and there married Elizabeth, daughter of Captain Lamb of Devonshire Square, London. Returning to Carolina, he became a successful lawyer, and accumulated a large fortune, as his rent-roll still testifies. He was Speaker of the House of Assembly from 1736 to 1740; also one of the king's councillors.

He was a thoroughly educated man, with keen literary taste, and remarkable social and conversational gifts. The charm of his manners made him the joy of his home, and the ornament of the social circle.

Having been married some years without children, Mr. Pinckney adopted his brother William's

eldest son Charles as his prospective heir, and sent him to England to be educated; but a romantic incident in the family annals interfered with this plan. In 1739 Colonel George Lucas, Governor of Antigua, with his family, arrived in Charleston. The climate of the West Indies did not suit Mrs. Lucas; and her husband brought his family to Carolina, to an estate which he owned on the Stono River.

The breaking out of the war between England and France compelled him to return to Antigua, leaving his wife and daughter under Mr. Pinckney's care. The mother was an invalid, and the management of the property fell upon the daughter, a girl of eighteen, who had just completed her education in England. She had a cultivated mind, and energy equal to the emergency. She kept her father well informed of all agricultural details, corresponded with his agents in London, and directed the overseers in the management of the property.

It was the habit of this industrious girl to write an abstract or a rough copy of all of her letters to her father or friends. This manuscript volume still survives, having escaped the perils of two civil wars, and preserves the only record of her own and her husband's life. The following gives a pleasing picture of her domestic occupations, and of the aspect of the country one hundred and fifty years ago:—

. . . "We are seventeen miles by land and six by water from Charles Town; we have some agreeable families around us with whom we live in

great harmony. I have a little library well furnished, in which I spend part of my time. My music and the garden, of which I am very fond, take up the rest of my time not employed in business, of which my father has left me a good share; indeed it was unavoidable, as my mama's state of health prevents her going through any fatigue. I have the business of three plantations to transact, which requires much writing, and more business and fatigue than you can imagine; but lest you should think it too burdensome on a girl at my early time of life, let me assure you I think myself happy that I can be useful to so good a father. By rising very early, I find I can go through much business. But lest you think I shall be quite moped with this way of life, I must inform you there are two worthy ladies in Charleston, Mrs. Pinckney and Mrs. Cleland, who are partial enough to be always pleased to have me with them. They insist upon my making their house my home when in town, and press me to relax a little oftener than it is in my power to accept of their entreaties."

She did not neglect her mind in the multiplicity of her domestic duties, but read largely books recommended to her by Colonel Pinckney from his own amply furnished library.

To this young lady, Eliza Lucas, Carolina was indebted for one of its chief staples. She had seen the value of indigo in Antigua, and sent for the seed to test its adaptation to this soil.

The experiment was successful, and she wrote to her father to send her some one familiar with

the cultivation of the plant, and the preparation of indigo for market.

Colonel Lucas writes that he "had purchased a capable and trusty slave who was skilled in the art, and had sent him to Carolina." (N. B. This was evidently before the days of Wilberforce, when neither England nor her colonies were sensitive on this subject.)

Thus the culture of indigo was introduced into the province, and became its leading industry, until it was supplanted by cotton within the present century.

The cultivation of indigo was not her only enterprise; her agricultural experiments embraced a wide field, as appears from the following memoranda of her letters to her father:—

"Wrote my father a long letter about his plantation affairs, and his change of commission with Major Heron; on the pains I have taken to bring the indigo, ginger, cotton, lucerne, and casada to perfection. I would have greater hopes of the indigo, if I could have the seed earlier next year from the West Indies, than of any of the other things I have tried; the ginger turns out but poorly. We want a supply of indigo seed. Sent by this vessel a waiter of my own Japaning, my first essay. Sent also the rice and beef. Sent Gov. Thomas' Daughter of Philadelphia, a tea chest of my own doing; also congratulate my father on my brother's recovery from the small pox: and having a commission."

The cultivation of tropical plants did not exhaust her energies, as the following letter shows:—

TO THE HON. CHARLES PINCKNEY.

February 6, 1741-2.

SIR, — I received yesterday the favor of your advice as a physician, and want no arguments to convince me I should be much better for both my good friends' company, — a much pleasanter prescription than Dr. Mead's which I have just received. To follow my inclination at this time I must endeavor to forget that I have a sister to instruct, and a parcel of little Negroes whom I have undertaken to teach to read, and, instead of writing an answer, bring it myself; and indeed gratitude, as well as inclination, obliges me to wait on Mrs. Pinckney as soon as I can, but it will not be in my power till a month or two hence. Won't you laugh at me if I tell you I am so busy providing for posterity, I hardly allow myself time to sleep or eat, and can but just snatch a moment to write to you, and a friend or two more. I am making a large plantation of oaks, which I look upon as my own property whether my father gives me the land or not, and therefore I design many a year hence, when oaks are more valuable than they are now, — which you know they will be when we come to build fleets, — I intend, I say, 2 thirds of the produce of my oaks for a charity (I'll tell you my scheme another time) and the other third for those who shall have the trouble of putting my design into execution. Mama pays her compliments to Mrs. Pinckney, and hopes she will excuse her waiting on her at this time, but will not fail to do so very soon. I am a very Dunce, for not having acquired ye writing

of short hand yet with any degree of swiftness; but I am not always so, for I give a very good proof of the brightness of my genius when I can distinguish well enough to subscribe my self with esteem,

Sir,

Yr. most obedient humble servant,

ELIZA LUCAS.

TO GEORGE LUCAS, ESQ.

May 22, 1742.

I am now set down, my dear brother, to obey your Commands and give you a short description of the part of the world I now inhabit. South Carolina, then, is an extensive Countrie near the sea. Most of the settled part of it is upon a flatt, the Soil near Charlestown sandy, but further distant clay and swamp lands. It abounds with fine navigable rivers, and great quantities of fine timber. The Country at a great distance, that is to say about a hundred and fifty mile from Charles Town, very hilly. The soil in general very fertile, and there are few European or American fruits or grain but what grow here; the country abounds with wild fowl, Venison, and fish; beef, Veal, and Mutton are here in much greater perfection than in the West Indies, tho' not equal to that of England. Fruit extremely good and in profusion, and the oranges exceed any I have ever tasted in the Islands, or in Spain or Portugal. The people in general hospitable and honest, and the better sort add to these a polite and gentile behaviour. The poorer sort are the most indolent

people in the world, or they would never be so wretched in so plentiful a country as this. The winters here are fine and pleasant, but 4 months in the year are extremely disagreeable, excessive hott, much thunder and lightening, and musketoes and sand-flies in abundance. Charles Town, the Metropolis, is a neat, pretty place; the inhabitants polite and live in a very gentile manner; the streets and houses regularly built; the ladies and gentlemen gay in their dress. Upon the whole you will find as many agreeable people of both sexes for the size of the place as almost any where. St. Phillips Church in Charles Town is a very Elegant one and much frequented. There are several more places of publick worship in the town, and the generality of the people of a religious turn of mind.

I began in haste and have observed no method, or I should have told you before I came to Summer that we have a most charming Spring in this country, especially for those who travel through the country, for the Scent of the young Myrtle and yellow Jessamine with which the woods abound is delightfull. The staple commodity here is rice, and the only thing they export to Europe. Beef, Pork and Lumber, they send to the West Indies.

Pray inform me how my good friend Mrs. Boddicott, my cousin Bartholomew, and all my old acquaintances do. Mama and Polly joyn in love with, Dear Brother,

Your's affectionately,

E. LUCAS.

It will appear that this young girl, just twenty years of age, was quite in advance of her generation, and that she anticipated, at the junction of the Stono and Wappoo rivers, the cultivation of those tropical fruits which are pouring such streams of wealth into the once barren lands of Florida.

Mrs. Lucas and her daughter were cordially received in Charleston, but were especially welcomed in Colonel Pinckney's home. So open was Mrs. Pinckney's admiration for the young lady that, rather than permit her to return to Antigua, she declared her readiness to "step out of the way and permit her to take her place." This kind intention she actually fulfilled by dying the following year; and her husband was considerate enough to marry the lady his wife had chosen for him.

The following letter to an English friend announces the fact of her marriage. A comparison between the dates of letter and postscript shows that her engagement and marriage occurred, without undue haste, in the interval. The postal facilities between England and America in 1753 were evidently far inferior to those which the Cunarders now furnish to the public.

TO LADY CAREW.

September 2, 1743.

Your Ladyship will be surprised at hearing from me after so long a silence, but will I hope be convinced that neither length of time nor distance of place, can efface that tender regard

which an early friendship has impressed upon me. I wrote you before I left London to take a hearty farewell of you, and to wish you all the felicity this world affords, but had no answer to that Letter, which was the reason I have never sent another after my arrival in Antigua. Whether it was a secret pride, or too great a delicacy for fear of being troublesome to you, I can't determine, but be it which it will, it was conquer'd as soon as I perceived you had not quite forgot me, for I received a Letter dated last March from Mrs. Pearson, wherein she told me you desired to be remembered to me; this determined me to renew our correspondence. I am now in South Carolina, a province where part of my Papa's estate lies. He removed his family here near five year ago with an intent to settle them here, but the Warr with Spain being proclaimed soon after, he was obliged to leave us and return to his Post in Antigua; and as his Majesty has lately appointed him Lieut-Col. and Gov. of Antigua, this determines our return thither; but as the time is uncertain, I hope to receive the pleasure of a Letter from your Ladyship while I am in Carolina, a very agreeable place; of which Charlestown is the metropolis, and is a polite place and affords a great deal of good company. To give you a more particular account may be tedious, therefore I will conclude, after paying my compliments to Sir Nicholas Carew and the dear little baby.

I am, madam, your most affectionate and obedient servant,

ELIZA LUCAS.

August 13, 1744.

P. S. Since the foregoing, which has been wrote and laid by several months for want of a proper opportunity, I have changed my condition of life, which occasions my now continuing to live in Carolina. You will be apt to ask, my dear Lady Carew, how I could leave a tender and affectionate Father, Mother, Brother, and Sister to live in a strange country, but I flatter myself if you knew the character of the gentleman I have made choice of (he is a gentleman of the law, and one of his Majesty's Council of the Province) you would think it less strange, especially as it was with the approbation of all my friends. Mr. Pinckney intends to bring me to England in a year or two, where one of the greatest pleasures I promise myself, is telling you in person how I am, dear madam, your Ladyship's most affectionate and humble servant,

ELIZA PINCKNEY.

The marriage certificate issued May 25, 1744, and signed by Governor Glen, authorizes Charles Pinckney and Elizabeth Lucas to intermarry, and the said Charles Pinckney binds himself by a bond of £2000 to the faithful performance of the contract.

Marriage contracts have always been of binding force in South Carolina. No divorce has ever been granted in this State, except during the brief period after the civil war, when aliens and barbarians ruled our unhappy land. As soon as intelligence and honesty regained their lawful sway, the legislature reëstablished our ancestral principle,

that marriage is a covenant which binds for life, and which death alone can dis sever.

The marriage proved eminently happy, as she testified many years after. Nevertheless the new love did not wean her from her fondness for experimental essays. Among her various experiments was the culture of silk. She imported the eggs of the silkworm and obtained a sufficient quantity of cocoons to spin silk enough for three dresses. This was done at her husband's farm, Belmont, four miles above Charleston. The thread was carried with her when she sailed for England in 1753, and manufactured there. One dress was presented to the Princess of Wales as a specimen of colonial products. Another was given to Lord Chesterfield, who had been a warm friend of the colony. The third, which she reserved for herself, is still in the possession of one of her descendants. It is a rich yellow brocade, which retains its original lustre, and often does duty on public occasions. Can any other woman claim the honor of introducing two staples into the industrial life of the country? The time may come when silk will be more important in South Carolina than indigo ever was. Its culture would give employment to hundreds of women who now seek means of support. The labor is less exhausting than the schoolroom or the needle.

From her marriage with Mr. Pinckney came the two generals, Charles Cotesworth, born 1746, and Thomas Pinckney, born 1750, and one daughter, Harriott, wife of Daniel Horry.

On the death of Chief Justice Graeme in 1752

Mr. Pinckney was appointed his successor by the royal governor, Glen.

As the most prominent lawyer in the province, and the only native of Carolina who had ever filled the office, his appointment was very gratifying to his countrymen; but his tenure of office was brief, as he was superseded in the following year by Peter Leigh.

The British ministry had political reasons for making another appointment. Peter Leigh, a man of noble family in Cheshire, was head bailiff of Westminster, and the returning officer in disputed parliamentary elections. In the bitter contest between Lord Trentham and the candidate for the opposition, after a long scrutiny Leigh returned Lord Trentham as entitled to the seat. His decision exasperated the opposition. They accused him of making false returns, and threatened him with impeachment. No positive proof was brought forward to sustain the charge, but the government thought it wiser to disarm the opposition by his removal. They required him to vacate his office as bailiff of Westminster, and felt bound to provide some honorable position for him; as the royal commission had never been sent to Mr. Pinckney to confirm the governor's appointment, they determined to ignore his possession of the office, and confer it upon Peter Leigh. They obtained the king's consent to their scheme, and sent out Leigh with the commission of chief justice.

As he does not appear to have been the equal of Mr. Pinckney in character or legal acquire-

ments, this abuse of ministerial patronage was not calculated to strengthen colonial respect for the wisdom or equity of royal government. Though removed from his position by the British ministry, Mr. Pinckney's fellow-citizens testified their appreciation of him by his appointment to act as agent of the colony in London. He had personal reasons which induced him to accept the mission. He wished to superintend the education of his sons, and also to take possession of the property which his brother had bequeathed to him.

Having accumulated a large fortune by the practice of law, he felt at liberty to accept the appointment. He sailed for England in 1753 with his family, and at first lived in London; but having sold his estate in Durham, he purchased a residence in Surrey, called Ripley, where he intended to live during his sons' minority. As it was within easy reach of London, he was enabled to attend to his duties as agent of the province.

This position, which he held for five years, seems to have been a quasi-ministerial one. He was the recognized agent of the colony, both of its royal governor and of the House of Assembly; he received a salary of £200 per annum, and all official expenses paid.

An inspection of his account book from September, 1753, to 1758, shows his industry in furthering the interests of the colony.

Take a few items from his record-book.

The Public of South Carolina in account with Charles Pinckney. For Disbursements for the Province.

- 1753, Sept. 10. To copies two letters from Gov. Glen to the Board of Trade and two to myself with Letters Credential in the affairs of the £ s. d. Province 0. 4. 8.
- To door keepers and servants in waiting on their Lordships on the affair of building the Forts in the Cherokees 0. 15. 0.
- 1754, Jan. 3. To drawing and engrossing a representation to the Lords of Trade on letters from Carolina concerning the French designing to build a Fort in the upper Cherokees 2. 2. 0.
- Fair copies to Government of Carolina 0. 10. 5.
- 1755, Jan. 10. To drawing and engrossing a paper and publishing the same by way of preparation to my application to Parliament for renewing the bounty on Indigo for a farther term of 7 years 0. 15. 0.
- To drawing and engrossing a paper of considerations for continuing bounty on Indigo 0. 15. 0.
- For distributing the same among members of Parliament 5. 5. 0.
- 1755, May 17. Paper of hints of matters consisting of 12 articles necessary for Gov. Littleton to be acquainted with before he left England and went over to his government of Carolina 1. 1. 1.

The encroachments of the French on the rivers flowing from the Cherokee country into the Ohio caused many letters and journeys to official characters during these years. It is evident, as you look over this list of official acts for the welfare of the colony, that Mr. Pinckney did not consider himself the representative of "any mean city," but observed a certain dignity in all his intercourse with government officials. Whether going

to Parliament or to some appointment with the king's ministers, or to the "Lords of Trade and of the Plantations," he always went in a coach.

"For chariot hire for this quarter 5*l.* 6*s.* 0*d.*" is a regular entry on his account book. Nor did he escape another tax laid upon all official or unofficial persons, in order to obtain the right of entry to persons or places in England. "To fees to door keepers of the Lords of Trade," is another charge often seen on his journal.

He intended to live in England many years to supervise the education of his sons, but on account of the war between England and France, he returned to Carolina in 1758 with his wife and daughter, leaving his sons at Westminster school.

He died soon after his return, leaving to his widow the responsibility of carrying out his wishes in the education of his children. That duty she faithfully discharged, and impressed upon their characters many of her own virtues; especially that deep regard for truth which distinguished them through their long lives.

Mr. Pinckney's religious convictions were very strong. They controlled his life, and pervade his last will and testament, which "will be read with delight by the patriot, the philanthropist, the parent, and the Christian." The following extract testifies to his earnest desire that his sons should be trained up in the same Christian principles:—

"And to the end that my beloved son Charles Cotesworth may the better be enabled to become the head of his family, and prove not only of ser-

vice and advantage to his country, but also an honor to his stock and kindred, my order and direction is that my said son be virtuously, religiously, and liberally brought up, and educated in the study and practice of the laws of England; and from my said son I hope, as he would have the blessing of Almighty God, and deserve the countenance and favor of all good men, and answer my expectations of him, that he will employ all his future abilities in the service of God and his country, in the cause of virtuous liberty, as well religious as civil, and in support of private right and justice between man and man; and that he do by no means debase the dignity of human nature, nor the honor of his profession, by giving countenance to, or ever appearing in favor of, irreligion, injustice or wrong, oppression or tyranny of any kind, public or private; but that he make the glory of God and the good of mankind, the relief of the poor and distressed, the widow and the fatherless, and such as have none else to help them, his principal aim and study.

“ I do also direct that my beloved son Thomas Pinckney shall have the same virtuous, religious, and liberal education, out of my estate, with his brother; and although I cannot yet direct to what profession he shall be brought up, yet I have the same good hopes and expectations of him as of my eldest son; and I desire as soon as he is capable of reason and reflection, he be informed thereof, and that a passion for the same noble and virtuous pursuits be inculcated in him as in his elder brother.”

February 13, 1756, is the date of this will.

To further the knowledge of true religion in the province, he also made provision for founding a semi-annual lecture on the greatness and goodness of God, to be delivered in St. Philip's Church, Charlestown, in May and October of every year. The date corresponds with the semi-annual sessions of the courts in Charleston. For defraying the expense of such lectures, he charges his mansion house with the payment of ten guineas per annum. This provision of his will was carried into effect by his eldest son, and continued by the granddaughters for fifty years. The great fire of 1861, during the civil war, swept away the house and the means of perpetuating the founder's pious purpose.

Mrs. Pinckney survived her husband thirty years, and lived to see her sons honored by their country and by "the Father of his Country." She died in Philadelphia, in 1792, where she was taken for medical advice. General Washington testified his regard in many ways during her illness, and offered to act as one of the pall-bearers at her funeral.

EDUCATIONAL. 1758-1774.

The two brothers were left by their father at school, one being twelve, and the other eight years of age. Thomas Pinckney spent nineteen years abroad, at Westminster, Oxford, and the Temple. He was a diligent student, devoting himself specially to the Greek language; he was the first Greek scholar of his year at Westminster,

and thereby became "captain of the town boys," the only American who ever attained that distinction. He read Greek fluently to the end of his life, and found it a recreation in the camp and in his travels, as well as in his study.

Major Garden, in his eulogy on General C. C. Pinckney, says: "His knowledge of Latin was perfect, but his brother, Thomas Pinckney, was his superior in Grecian literature. I have heard the former say, 'When I visited my brother in his tent at night, I have often found him reading some Greek author in the original, and would remark to him that the sight of a Latin translation on the other side of the page was always to me a very pleasant sight, and a very necessary companion.'" Hugh S. Legare, the most accomplished Greek scholar of his generation, says that "for a young man Thomas Pinckney was the best Hellenist we ever had in America."

He followed his brother after an interval of four years in his course at Oxford, and then pursued the study of law in the Inner Temple. His legal studies did not engross his attention so completely as to forbid opportunity for other parts of a complete education, as appears by an extract from one of his letters: "I was among the scholars at Reda's fencing school, and the riding school of Angelo." He also spent a year at Caen in Normandy, for the purpose of devoting himself to military science, which was soon to become of practical value. His long absence from home did not abate his patriotic ardor. The epithet of "little rebel," which he acquired at college, indi-

cates his early enthusiasm for his native land. A letter from his mother to her daughter in 1773 contains this paragraph: "Lord North's act is passed, and with such arbitrary clauses that the Bostonians will never submit to it. There was a petition against it, signed by twenty-nine Americans resident in London, presented to the house of Lords. Fifteen of the petitioners were Carolinians. Mr. William Middleton and his son, Mr. Blake, Mr. Izard, and your brother Thomas were among the number. General Gage has arrived at Boston, and superseded Hutchinson in the government."

In 1774 Thomas Pinckney was admitted to the bar in Charleston. His first case in court has been recorded in a letter from his mother.

MRS. PINCKNEY TO HER DAUGHTER, MRS. HORRY.

CHARLESTON, February 18, 1775.

. . . I this moment received my dear Child's letter, and am happy to hear you are all so well. . . .

Your brother has been here; he just stept in from Court to let me know Tom had spoke for the first time; they have gained the Cause, and Mr. (I forget the Client's name) presented Tom with a couple of Joes as soon as he had done. I have seen nobody yet, to know how he spoke, but his brother, and as you know he is very partial to him.

Tom is come in from Court; he don't seem at all satisfied with himself; says he was confused. Mr. Ned Rutledge called this evening; he is very

friendly to Tom; wished me joy; I thanked him, but told him I was sorry Tom seemed so dissatisfied with himself. He said he had no cause, he thought his being dashed was in his favour, the first time of speaking, as it was owing to his modesty, and the argument was his own. What he found fault with would wear off in one circuit.

Your cousin, Mrs. Charles Pinckney, has just come in. She says her husband was extremely pleased to hear your Brother Tom speak; said he acquitted himself extraordinarily well, with great calmness and good sense, not at all confused or fluttered, but that nothing pleased him better than the modesty of his countenance and deportment.

I meet with so many interruptions, I must conclude. Your ever affectionate mother,

ELIZA PINCKNEY.

Another letter, apparently from a female critic, adds "that his black silk gown was very becoming, and his manner was modest and charming."

THE REVOLUTION.

MILITARY LIFE. 1775-1782.

MR. PINCKNEY'S professional career was soon interrupted, as might be anticipated in one who had proved himself so ardent a patriot, by the call to arms. On his return home he had found his native land in a political ferment. The Revolution was assuming a visible form. South Carolina has always been strong in her convictions and prompt in her actions; and in this emergency she proved no exception to the rule. She took the initiative in military preparations. A volunteer company of rangers was formed in April, 1775, under the lead of Isaac Huger, in which Thomas Pinckney was appointed a lieutenant. The militia was organized, drilled, and armed with muskets seized from the public magazines.

But as soon as the news from Lexington arrived, the "general committee" called together the provincial Congress, to "place the colony in a proper state of defence." The Congress met in Charleston on the 1st of June, and after "attending divine service, bound themselves by every tie of religion and honor, to unite for the common defence against every foe, and to support our continental and provincial councils, with our lives and fortunes." On the fourth day of the session, "they resolved to raise 1500 men, rank and file,

in two regiments, and 450 horse rangers, forming another regiment. The troops so raised to be subjected to military discipline and the articles of war, in like manner as the British troops were governed." A million of dollars was voted, a treasury established, and a Council of Safety elected. This Council of Safety, composed of thirteen leading men of the province, were invested with supreme power over the army and its officers, the militia, and all military affairs. They formed, in fact, the executive power of the colony.

The State Congress also provided for the organization of the troops by electing Christopher Gadsden, colonel; Isaac Huger, lieutenant-colonel; and Owen Roberts, major, of the 1st regiment; and William Moultrie, colonel; Isaac Motte, lieutenant-colonel; Alexander McIntosh, major, of the 2d regiment.

From among a long list of candidates for commissions, twenty were appointed captains for these two regiments. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney is the first on the list, which contains also the names of Barnard Elliott, Francis Marion, Peter Horry, John Barnwell, Isaac Harleston, Thomas Pinckney, and Francis Huger, all familiar names in our military annals.

Thomas Pinckney, with his brother, was assigned to duty in the 1st regiment, and began his military life on 17th of June, 1775, the day on which the battle of Bunker Hill was fought. He at once determined to fill up the ranks of his company, and went to Orangeburg to gather recruits. As soon as he had obtained the requisite number of

fifty men, his military knowledge was put into requisition, not only in his own, but in other companies of his regiment, for his brother officers availed themselves of his superior skill in all martial exercises. In his "Anecdotes of the Revolution," Major Garden has given this testimony to Captain Pinckney's services: "The rudiments of discipline were first taught by him to the infantry of the South Carolina line." When General Armstrong, who was sent by the Continental Congress on a tour to the South, came to inspect the troops at Charleston, his brigade-major (Connor) "pronounced the first South Carolina regiment the best disciplined on the continent."

As this regiment was assigned to duty at Fort Johnson, on the southern shore of the harbor, that post became Thomas Pinckney's headquarters during the first year of the war. But his services were not confined to one point. His skill as an engineer was frequently used in the erection of fortifications around the harbor, as the following extract shows:—

"In pursuance of orders of the 'Council of Safety' to Colonel Moultrie to send a detachment of 200 privates commanded by a major, to erect a battery of four eighteen-pounders at Hadderal's Point, Major Charles Cotesworth Pinckney with a detachment of four captains, eight subalterns, and 200 rank and file, with a number of mechanics and laborers, accompanied by Colonel Moultrie and many gentlemen volunteers, passed over from Charleston on the night of 19th December, 1775.

"Landing at Hadderal's Point they fell to work

with such spirit, that by daylight the next morning they were covered from the shot of the ships; and in a few hours more they had laid the platforms and mounted the cannon.

“Upon this the embrasures were opened, when the men-of-war were saluted, at the distance of a mile, with a few shot from the eighteen-pounders; and some of these were so well aimed that the men-of-war fell back opposite Sullivan’s Island.

“The Tamar and Cherokee, with Lord William Campbell on board, after destroying the pest-house on the island, and carrying off four white men and eleven negroes as prisoners, dropped down to the lower part of the harbor, and soon after put to sea.”

Garden says “the battery was erected by Thomas Pinckney.” He was one of the four captains mentioned above, and was probably the best engineer among the officers.

Our citizens at this early period of the war made some efforts to organize a navy. They purchased three merchantmen, and converted them into vessels of war, by which they might procure supplies, and harass the enemy. The result of one of these naval ventures as narrated in a letter of Thomas Pinckney to his sister, dated Fort Johnson, May 22, 1776, throws some light on the subject.

I was yesterday witness to a scene which grieved me much. I mentioned above that an English ship was off the bar, and signals up for two ships more. When they came in sight, it proved to be

Captain Turpin, who was sent to cruise between the Bahama banks and our shore, with a West Indiaman he had taken, valued at 30,000 guineas. As soon as a British frigate which was standing to the northward saw them, she gave chase, and pressed them so closely that the prize was obliged to be run ashore outside of the bar, while our brigantine got in. At the same time Captain Tufts went down to her assistance, as did the pilot and several other boats.

The boats got up with her, but neither Turpin nor Tufts, who were on this side of the bar, could get within a mile of her. The frigate fired, however, sixteen guns at Tufts, as he was endeavoring to get to her, but at too great a distance to do any execution. Tufts returned the compliment with two guns.

A little before two o'clock old Captain Copithorn came here for some laborers, on his way down to the prize with eight schooners, in order to lighten her, and our people at the same time cut away her mizzen-mast. The prize was lying in that position between our two armed vessels, when a little schooner, which seemed a tender to the man-of-war, filled with armed men, together with their pinnace and long boat, came to her over the bank she was lying on; then our people got into the boats, and quitted her. The man-of-war's people boarded her, and set fire to some combustibles in her hold, and in a few minutes we had the mortification of seeing our lofty prize a prey to the flames. She continued to burn the remainder of yesterday, and all of last night. I

really believe had Charleston been on fire, we could not have looked on its ruins with more regret. The frigate still remains off the bar, but as she is alone we are perfectly easy about her.

Adieu.

P. S. A schooner with 10,000 lbs. of powder came in two days ago.

Another letter to his sister, in anticipation of the battle, follows : —

FORT JOHNSON, June 11, 1776.

. . . Our visitors from England are so very slow in their motions; delayed by fear or inability of proceeding, they have advanced no farther than just within the bar.

We received a visit here two days ago from Generals Lee and Howe. Lee has a great deal of the gentleman in his appearance, though homely and in a split shirt; he has taken upon himself the command of the forces, and seven hundred of his men are I hope by this time landed in Charleston. We have fifteen hundred men on Sullivan's Island, and are promised a reinforcement as soon as occasion may require it. They have also a considerable body of men in Charleston, so that I hope our enemies will have very little reason to boast of the reception they will meet with, as we are fully prepared for these gentry, shall they be hardy enough to attack us. There is nobody here who doubts our success. Charleston is already greatly improved by the apprehension of an attack, as a great many of the stores upon the wharves are

already pulled down. Brisbane's house has shared the same fate; and yesterday, Morris' house, on the island, was burned by a detachment from our regiment. I hope my mother does not suffer herself to be low-spirited on this occasion. Everybody here seems as cheerful or more so than ever. And we have not lost a man by desertion since we have heard of the enemy's being off the coast. I only wait till we have given these fellows a hearty drubbing before I come to pay my respects to my mother.

This was rather a strong manifestation of patriotic enthusiasm, not based on military experience; for there was no record of a wooden fort on this continent, or elsewhere, ever having successfully resisted a British fleet. He seems far more sanguine of the ability of the forts to repel the enemy than were some of his superiors, especially the commanding general.

General Charles Lee, whose arrival excited the enthusiasm of our troops, by the promise of a trained military man for command, was an Englishman, who belonged to a distinguished family in Cheshire. He had held a commission in the British army, and seen service both in America and Europe. His life was roving, romantic, and disappointing. He had been with Braddock in his disastrous campaign at Fort Duquesne; he was present at the attack on Ticonderoga in 1758, and aided in the capture of Montreal from the French in 1761. He served afterwards in Holland and in Portugal, and was at the battle of

Villafranca in 1763. Disappointed in his hopes of promotion in the British service, he resigned in disgust, and joined Stanislaus Augustus, king of Poland. He was made a general in the Polish army, and served in one campaign against the Turks. Not finding the Polish service more satisfactory than that of his native country, he returned to England, and thence to America, in 1773, and purchased an estate in the valley of Virginia. Espousing the cause of the colonies, he wrote several bitter pamphlets upholding their rights in the contest with Parliament.

In 1775, at the organization of the American army, he offered his services to Congress, and was at once made major-general, being second only in rank to Washington and Artemas Ward. He served in the army with Washington at the siege of Boston in the same year. In 1776 he was sent south by Congress to aid in the defence of Charleston, where he arrived in company with Brigadier-General Howe, a few days after the British fleet had reached our coasts. He immediately began an inspection of the harbor and its defences, in company with President Rutledge.

The President and the Council of Safety had anticipated danger by way of the sea, and therefore had strengthened the defences along the water front. They had just built a fort on Sullivan's Island, at the mouth of the harbor, where Colonel Moultrie was stationed with the 2d South Carolina regiment, four hundred strong, and a battalion of artillery. At the eastern end of the island, three miles off, they had stationed

Colonel Thompson with seven hundred men and two pieces of artillery, to guard the passage between that and the neighboring island. Three miles up the harbor, nearer the city, they had strengthened Fort Johnson, our oldest fortification, and as well armed as Sullivan, where Colonel Gadsden, with the 1st South Carolina regiment, was in command. If the fleet should succeed in passing the fort on Sullivan's Island, it was hoped that Fort Johnson, a strong position, could stop their passage. Nearly a mile farther west, opposite the southern point of the city, was another battery, just erected, where Captain Thomas Pinckney, with twelve heavy guns, and his own company, detached from the 1st regiment, was posted.

In the city, every preparation was made to meet the enemy. Thirty-seven hundred men, including five hundred Virginia and twelve hundred North Carolina troops, were placed there. The buildings along the water front were torn down, and batteries erected at many commanding points, armed with more than one hundred heavy guns. One of them, Broughton's Battery, protected the mouth of Ashley River, and completed the inner line of defences. This latter work has bequeathed its name to Charleston's beautiful promenade.

At Haddrell's Point, four miles east of the city, and one mile behind Fort Sullivan, where the mainland juts down farthest into the harbor, fifteen hundred men were posted. Thus Lee found sixty-five hundred men ready to defend their native land. After his inspection of the

works and the distribution of the troops, he determined to adopt another line of defence. He had no faith whatever in the power of Fort Sullivan to stop the fleet. His military eye had detected the weakness of its unfinished side, and he denounced it "as a mere slaughter pen, which could not hold out half an hour." He urged its immediate abandonment, and a withdrawal of its garrison. This Rutledge indignantly refused, as a timid and disheartened policy; but with his habitual contempt for civil authority, Lee began to issue orders as major-general, conflicting with those which had been already issued by the Council of Safety. Lee forgot that he had only advisory power. South Carolina was an organized government in which Rutledge was the head, under the title of President. He and the Council of Safety were supreme in all things civil and military, during the recess of the general assembly. South Carolina had entered into the compact with Congress to maintain the rights of the colonies; but an officer of the Congress had no authority here until it was confirmed by the existing government. Rutledge saw enough of Lee's arbitrary temper to know that he could not coöperate, and wisely avoided the conflict. He anticipated the wisdom of Napoleon's military maxim, "that one bad general was better than two good ones." He therefore published in general orders "that the command of all the regular forces, and the militia of this colony acting in conjunction with them, is invested in Major-General Lee; orders issued by him are to be obeyed."

General Lee thought that Sir Henry Clinton would attack the city by land as soon as he could disembark his troops on some point north of Charleston. He therefore selected Haddrell's as his strategic point, and withdrew some of the troops from the island, and some of the powder from the fort; and would have withdrawn all, men and ammunition, if he had ventured to do so.

Fort Sullivan, destined to play so important a part in revolutionary story, notwithstanding the contempt of its commanding general, was located on the seashore, just at the mouth of the harbor. It was a rectangular work, with a bastion at each end built of palmetto logs, a soft and spongy wood, which grows abundantly along the southern coast, and which our engineers thought well adapted to resist cannon-balls. The logs were laid upon each other in parallel rows sixteen feet apart, and bound together by transverse logs at the same distance, all securely bolted into each other. The spaces between the logs were filled with heavy sea sand; and the merlons were similarly built to the height of ten feet, to protect the guns and the platforms on which they rested. The fort was mounted with thirty guns, one half twenty-six and eighteen pounders, the rest only nine and twelve pounders. It was only finished completely on the front; the back and two sides being still incomplete. Its garrison was encamped outside, so as not to interfere with the workmen, and only marched in on the 9th of June, and pitched their tents on the parade within. They

employed the interval between that and the day of battle in completing as far as possible their unfinished work.

The British fleet, numbering fifty sail, including transports, had anchored off the bar on the 1st of June. It required three weeks of hard labor to get the larger vessels over the bar. Their guns were removed to the smaller craft, until the frigates were lightened sufficiently to cross the bar; then their guns were replaced.

While the people on the ships were thus employed, Sir Henry Clinton with Lord Cornwallis had approached with his transports the Long Island shore, and landed three thousand British troops with some light artillery. They encamped on the western end of the island, a mile from the point held by Colonel Thompson. Here they stood, ready to coöperate with the fleet as soon as their preparations for attack were completed.

On the morning of the 28th of June, Colonel Moultrie had gone to Colonel Thompson's post to calculate the chances of the British crossing the inlet, and attacking him in flank, while busy with the squadron. Seeing the fleet spreading their sails and getting under way, he at once rode back to his post, and ordered the men to their guns. The first trial of arms between the British fleet and the revolted colonies was at hand. It was a solemn moment for the garrison and its commander. Moultrie had received two conflicting orders that morning; one was from General Lee, who seemed only anxious to provide a way of retreat, as his various orders show.

June 10.

TO COLONEL MOULTRIE.

SIR, — You will receive a number of flats, rafts, and planks for the construction of bridges for your retreat. You can give a receipt for them.

CHARLES LEE, Major-General.

June 25 [three days before the battle]. “Finish the bridges.”

On the morning of the battle, June 28, he writes: —

DEAR COLONEL, — If you should expend your ammunition without beating off the enemy, or driving them aground, spike your guns, and retreat with all possible order.

But happily for the State, Rutledge was the supreme authority in civil and military affairs. His order to Moultrie on the same day breathes a loftier spirit, worthy of Leonidas or Cæsar.

June 28.

General Lee wishes you to abandon the fort. You will not without a written order from me. I would rather cut off my hand than write one.

JOHN RUTLEDGE.

Had Moultrie been of a nervous temperament he would have been much disturbed; but if slow, he was also sure, and calmly awaited the advance. Eight stately frigates, two mounting fifty guns each, the others twenty-eight guns, attended by a

bomb-ship, approached the fort. The Bristol, Sir Peter Parker's flag-ship, with three other frigates, dropped their anchors at the distance of four hundred yards. The other four vessels formed a second line of battle on the outside. They immediately opened their broadsides, throwing from seventy to one hundred shot at a time upon the fort, and carrying terror to a thousand anxious hearts upon the shores around the harbor. Whenever the frigates fired simultaneously, their shots, Moultrie says, made the whole fort tremble. It seemed to be a very unequal contest. Two hundred and sixty-six guns were brought to bear upon the fort, still unfinished, armed with thirty cannon, only fifteen of which were heavy enough to be of real value. Its supply of ammunition was also small, not being quite five thousand pounds of powder. There was but one chance of success, a cool and deliberate response to the heavy bombardment of the fleet. The officers of each battery generally pointed the guns, and stimulated each other to accuracy of aim. One shot from the fort often did more damage than ten times the number from the fleet. Their balls were often buried in the intervening sands, or passed over the fort into the marshes of the bay behind. Those which struck the works were embedded in the soft palmetto, or passed through without damage into the sixteen feet of sand.

Finding after several hours' bombardment that he could make little impression on the fort, Sir Peter Parker ordered the three frigates which formed his second line of battle, and which he

had reserved, apparently, for an attack upon Fort Johnson, to take a station on the western side of Sullivan, so as to enfilade the platform with its unprotected guns. This movement, which General Lee had foreseen, would have enabled the ships to dismount the guns of the fort, and change the fortunes of the day. But Providence favored the brave. To avoid the fire of the fort, the ships bore too much to the western side of the channel, and the leading frigate, the *Acteon*, grounded upon a shoal, where she remained hopelessly disabled; while her two consorts, trying to escape her fate, ran foul of each other, and became unmanageable, so that they were compelled to retire, until they could repair their damages and resume their place in the fight.

With the loss of three ships from the attacking force, and cheered by the sound condition of the fort, the garrison plied their guns vigorously, and with telling effect. They concentrated their fire upon the two fifty gun frigates, cutting the cable of Sir Peter Parker's ship, so that she swung round with the tide, exposing her stern to the fort. "Mind the commodore," was the word passed round in the garrison to each battery, and the result was soon obvious. Twice during the day her quarter deck was swept of every defender, and fresh recruits were ordered up to man the guns. Her decks were slippery with blood, and barges were seen passing from the two larger ships, to carry away the wounded, and bring fresh men from other vessels. Sir Peter Parker was wounded twice, and at one time was the only

man standing on the upper deck. His captain lost an arm, and died two days after from the wound. Lord William Campbell, acting as a volunteer on board the flag-ship, was seriously wounded, and probably died from the effects of the injury. The masts of the ship were shot through in so many places that two of them had to be cut down, and seventy shot pierced her hull. Nor did her comrade fare much better. Fifty-seven of her crew were killed and thirty wounded, and her hull was badly battered. Her captain, also, had his arm shot off, and died in consequence. The British loss was one hundred and thirteen killed and sixty to seventy wounded. The other vessels suffered but little, though all were damaged in their hulls and rigging. Our victory was won with the loss of only ten men killed, and twenty-five wounded.

While the battle was raging, and balls were flying freely over the water, General Lee crossed over from Haddrell's to visit the fort. He pointed some of the guns, to encourage the men, and said to Moultrie, "I see, colonel, that you are doing very well without me. I will return to the city."

Sir Henry Clinton's plan of aiding the fleet by an invasion on land entirely failed. The water of the inlet between the two islands was far too deep for fording. He manned his boats, and tried to cross with part of his troops; but a few well directed shot from Colonel Thompson's battery showed that that movement was impracticable. He then sought to reach the mainland, but

that he found more difficult still. Three miles of marshes intersected by winding creeks, too shallow for navigation, but too deep and miry for fording, protected our coast as effectually then as they have often done since. Sir Henry Clinton and Lord Cornwallis therefore remained idle spectators of the battle.

About four o'clock the ships slackened their fire, to repair their damages, and refresh their men, for the day was very sultry. Moultrie gladly embraced the opportunity of resting his troops, exposed for six hours to the glare of the sun and the heat of the guns. He had another object in view. A rumor reached the fort that the British had crossed the inlet, and were marching to attack him in the rear. He ordered the garrison to cease firing entirely, that he might reserve his powder for muskets, or only to fire once in ten or fifteen minutes. In the mean time he indulged himself with his pipe, possibly to encourage his men.

The British hoped that the fort had suffered as much as they had, and had given up the conflict in despair. The people of the city, filled with anxiety, crowded the water-front, and the garrisons around the harbor began to despond. The whole scene was reproduced eighty-eight years afterwards. During our civil war, a fleet of eight ironclads, including the Ironsides frigate and seven monitors, poured upon Fort Sumter the heaviest fire then known in naval warfare. The Battery in Charleston was again crowded with anxious hearts, and many around the harbor were painfully awaiting the result of the unequal contest.

Rutledge, fearing from the cessation of the fire that Moultrie's powder was falling short, immediately dispatched the following:—

I send you five hundred pounds of powder. I should think you may be supplied from Hadrell's Point. You know our collection is not very large. Honor and victory, my good sir, to you, and our worthy countrymen with you.

JOHN RUTLEDGE.

P. S. Do not make too free with your cannon. Cool and do mischief.

If Moultrie's courage at any time needed stimulation, Rutledge's orders were calculated to supply it; but his coolness never flagged during this trying day. As soon as this fresh supply was received, he resumed the battle, though on the line indicated, "cool and do mischief." The advantage was clearly with the fort. The broadsides from the frigates became few and far between; the bomb-ship had long since injured her mortar-board so much that the mortar became useless, and she was out of the conflict. After a weary bombardment, the British commodore, taking advantage of the ebb tide, cut his cables and drifted back to the anchorage which he had left in the morning, a sadder and a wiser man, — the Americans rejoicing in the city, and in the forts, and the garrison surprised, I doubt not, at their own achievement.

The *Acteon* alone remained on the shoal where

she had grounded, the same on which Fort Sumter was erected many years afterwards. The garrison, on the following day, fired several shot at her. To prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy, her commander set fire to her, and set off with his crew, leaving her colors flying and her cannon loaded. Lieutenant Milligan, belonging to our armed ship the *Prosper*, went down the harbor with three boats' crews, and boarded her while in flames, fired some of her guns at the commodore, stripped her of all that time permitted, and carried off his spoils. Soon after he left her the ship blew up, with a noise which reverberated over the harbor. The smoke, ascending upwards in the still summer's morning, spread out above in the shape of an umbrella. This, to the excited imagination of the people around, assumed the form of a palmetto-tree, emblematic of the future triumph of their prospective banner.

On the same day General Lee visited the garrison, and thanked them for their good conduct. "No men," he declared, "ever did better during ten hours' cannonade, and seven hours' bombardment." President Rutledge and the Council of Safety also visited the fort, and conveyed the thanks of their countrymen for their gallant conduct. Rutledge took this occasion to reward the daring of one man, which had been reported to him. During the heat of the battle, the flag-staff was shot away, and the flag fell to the ground. Sergeant Jasper immediately leaped from one of the embrasures, picked up the flag, and stripped it from its broken staff. Winding it

around his arm, he climbed up again, while the balls were flying around him, and replaced it on the highest point of the fort upon a temporary flagstaff. Calling up the gallant sergeant President Rutledge took off his sword, and buckled it round the waist of the brave soldier. He also offered him a lieutenant's commission in the South Carolina line; but Jasper was modest as well as brave, and declined the honor. "I am not an educated man," he said; "not fit to associate with the officers. Better leave me where I am." Rutledge also paid Moultrie a well-deserved compliment. With the sanction of the council, he changed the name of Fort Sullivan to Fort Moultrie, in honor of the brave commander of the 28th of June.

Another incident of the battle is remarkable. The officers of the fort calculated that twelve thousand balls were fired by the fleet during the bombardment; some were buried in the sands; many passed over the fort, and dropped in the marshes behind; others buried themselves in the palmetto logs. The soldiers collected, within the next few days, twelve hundred cannon-balls which had been fired at the fort; more by nearly two hundred than had been used by the garrison. Moultrie had unwittingly anticipated Napoleon's stratagem at the siege of Acre, where that wily commander compelled the British fleet to supply him unconsciously with a sufficient supply of balls to continue the siege.

During the battle the garrison of Fort Johnson were at their guns ready for their share of the

danger, but the repulse of the fleet at Fort Moultrie made them only spectators of the combat. Thomas Pinckney was at his post a little west of the fort, so that he could only witness the triumphs of his countrymen. The following letter to Mrs. Horry gives his view of the battle.

Saturday, June 29, 1776.

We have been witness, My Dear Harriott, to a glorious action between the Fort at Sullivan's Island and seven of the enemy's ships of war, besides a bomb-ketch. The action began yesterday about eleven o'clock in the forenoon; and a severe cannonade continued till nine in the evening, when, to the immortal glory of the 2d Regiment, the ships ceased firing, and made the best of their way down with the tide.

The Bristol of fifty Guns, in which was the Admiral, was very roughly treated, having lost her Mizzen-mast, besides being so much battered as to be obliged to haul off, and cease firing for a considerable time. Two of their ships ran foul of each other, by which one of them lost her Bow-sprit, and the other (which I take to be an eight and twenty Gun-ship) got so fast aground that the enemy were obliged to set fire to and abandon her, with all her Guns, powder, and rigging standing.

A forty-four Gun-ship, supposed to be the Roebuck, was also warmly engaged, but I do not know what loss she has sustained. The loss on our side amounted to no more than ten men killed, and twenty-two wounded. Of this noble action we

were obliged to be idle spectators, and from the Reception the Enemy has met with, I think we are likely to continue so.

At the same time that the attack was made on the Fort, the Enemy made two attempts to land from Long Island, one on the main, the other on Sullivan's Island, but were repulsed in both without our losing a single man. I have just rec'd your favour by Mr. Gadsden, and am glad to find that you have hitherto escaped fevers, and that you may long continue free from them is the sincere wish of

Your truly affectionate Brother,

THOMAS PINCKNEY.

William Henry Drayton, chief justice of the State, a prominent actor in these events, thus sums up the leading part which South Carolina took in the Revolution.

"We were the first in America to pronounce Lord North's conciliatory policy to be inadmissible. We raised the first regular forces on the continent, and for a period of three years. We first declared the cause of taking up arms. We originated Councils of Safety. We were among the first who led the way to independence, by establishing a constitution of government. We were the first who made a law authorizing the capture of British vessels, without distinction. We alone have defeated a British fleet."

The transfer of the 1st regiment to Fort Moultrie in August, 1776, made that Captain Pinckney's headquarters for three years, and to this

regiment under his brother's command, Gadsden being promoted, was intrusted the guardianship of the harbor for the same period. The western bastion of the fort was still unfinished; that was completed and the works improved under Captain Pinckney's direction as engineer.

Recruiting formed a large part of his duty during these earlier years of the war. He had already visited Orangeburg, and enlisted three fourths of his own company in that district. He afterwards visited Waxhaws, Camden, and other points in the State for the same purpose. Subsequently, in company with Philip Neyle, he was sent on a more extensive tour, embracing North Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland.

He asked permission of the governors of those States to recruit within their limits, and records the fact, characteristic of old Virginia, that "Patrick Henry received him with great cordiality."

The number of recruits did not correspond with the enthusiastic hopes of the young soldier, nor repay the work "of three months in the saddle," not counting the expenditure of eloquence and diplomacy. His experience is probably not uncommon. "*Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*," is a noble sentiment, most popular with those who have not tried it. But "*dulce domum*" appeals to a personal instinct, which often overpowers the patriotic. It is the first wave of popular enthusiasm which sweeps the multitude into the field. So it was in 1776, so it was in 1861; with each subsequent year, as the hardships of war increased, the military ardor abated.

Captain Pinckney's reputation for handling troops was such that he was often detailed for special duty as instructor in military science. During the first three years of the war he was thus employed along the coast, as far south as Pocotaligo and Purisburg. On one of these tours an incident occurred which marked his firmness and decision of character. It was known to the military authorities that British emissaries from Georgia had visited certain posts, and tampered with the men. During his visit to one of these stations a mutiny broke out among the troops. The company on parade refused to obey orders, threw down their arms, and defied their officers. Persuasion, upbraiding, threats, proved alike unavailing, and the officers seemed about to give up the contest. Captain Pinckney, watching the situation from an adjoining house, saw that the time for parley had passed. Taking his sabre in his hand he entered the angry group, approached the ringleader, and cut him down at a blow. Ordering the company to resume their arms, and fall into ranks, he carried them through the interrupted drill, and turned them over to their officers in a far more submissive spirit than they had manifested. No man could be more averse to assume authority than one of Thomas Pinckney's temperament; he could exercise it promptly when duty required.

There are three events which mark this period of his military life: the Florida campaign, the battle of Stono, and the siege of Savannah.

THE FLORIDA CAMPAIGN. 1778.

The invasion of Florida is so slighted by our historians that it reads like a new page in Revolutionary annals. Like all similar attempts in the last two hundred years by the colonies, or by the United States, it proved a sad mistake.

Florida had been for all that period a curse to the Southern colonies. Marauding bands of savage Indians, and still more cruel Spaniards, would spring from its dark forests to lay waste our borders, murder our people, and retreat, like the tiger to its bloody den.

When Florida was ceded to Great Britain in 1763, great was our joy; and we looked to the flowery land as lovingly as the shivering tourist does now when flying from his icy home.

But the joy was brief, for England made it the base of operations against her rebellious provinces, and repeated the old story with additional aggravations. The marauders were reinforced by fugitive slaves enticed to her dishonored standard. General Howe, the continental officer in command, gathered the forces of South Carolina and Georgia to crush the spoiler, and protect our frontiers. He crossed the Savannah and Ogeechee rivers, and marched for the Altamaha. Major Pinckney, as he was now (May, 1778), was stationed meanwhile at Pocotaligo, to collect and hasten forward the South Carolina troops, and with them soon joined the invading column. His letters from various points, the Altamaha, the great Satilla River, and from the St. Mary's, mark the

weary route through summer heats and barren sands.

One hope inspired them on the toilsome march. "We hope to find the enemy to-morrow in his post on the Altamaha;" but the result was always the same, — "the fort deserted and the enemy fled." His own account sums up forcibly the issue of the barren expedition.

"Our troops, without ever coming in contact with the enemy, suffered more from privations of every sort than they would have done from the most sanguinary engagements. Before we took possession of Fort Tonyn on the frontier of Florida, which the British abandoned at our approach, more than half of our regular troops were in their graves or in the hospitals. . . . The two Georgia regiments returned home from disgust with their general." The hungry, weary survivors, under command of Colonel C. C. Pinckney, at length reached the sea, at the mouth of the St. Mary's River. Vessels sent from Charleston received them there, and carried them to a welcome home.

Both Thomas Pinckney and his brother escaped the sickness which fell upon so many of the expedition. Exposed as they were to the Florida sun in June and July, Major Pinckney writes "that he was thinner than he had ever been in all his life, and thought that he had eaten more rice than he had ever made."

Thus ended disastrously the third attempt by the colonies against Florida. The first under Oglethorpe's direction in 1740 failed, though costing South Carolina a large tribute in men and

money, and led to a quarrel between Georgia and South Carolina as to the cause of defeat.

The second, under General Lee's orders in 1776, likewise failed.

The third, under General Howe in 1778, was as unfortunate as either of the preceding. The march through barren sands and dismal swamps, without any definite strategic point, the fatal want of discipline among his men, and the abandonment of the enterprise almost within sight of St. Augustine, sum up the feeble results.

The blunders of the expedition led to a quarrel between the leaders as to where the blame of failure lay, and resulted in the duel between Generals Howe and Gadsden.

This campaign taught our young soldier a lesson of endurance which was hard to learn; it was the mere drudgery of war without any of its excitements. No martial music, no courageous foe, no gallant charge, no "earthquake shock of victory," marked their progress.

Watching against an invisible foe, marching and countermarching, hunger and thirst, without one opportunity of striking a hearty blow, these constituted his experience in this most unfruitful expedition.

The whole story recalls the Florida campaign of 1836, when nine thousand men tried for several years to capture one tribe of Indians, whose presence was made known only when a straggler left the lines, or when a provision wagon lingered in the rear. The crack of a rifle, a scalped soldier, and the form of an Indian retreating to The Everglades, was the only evidence of the lurking foe.

Generals suffered sadly in reputation, and one was even burnt in effigy; and few were the laurels won in the Seminole war. In Florida swamps, the wily savage has every advantage over a civilized foe.

The failure of Howe's unfortunate campaign soon entailed other disasters upon us. Sir H. Clinton despatched Colonel Campbell from New York with a sufficient force to capture Savannah, in spite of General Howe's resistance. General Provost, commanding in Florida, was ordered at the same time to advance into Georgia. Dispersing the feeble resistance which met him at Sunbury, and at Augusta, he soon brought the State back beneath the royal authority.

During the interval between this expedition and the invasion of the State in the subsequent year, Major Pinckney found time to diversify his military life with professional and domestic engagements. He attended court at Orangeburg, and successfully defended some prisoners who had erred through ignorance of military law. As the results of his labors at that session of the court, he incloses a check to his sister to pay some debts in Charleston, and rejoices in a profession which "enabled him to save the lives of unhappy persons" whose cause he had espoused.

In 1779 he also found time to attend to domestic engagements, for he married Elizabeth Motte, the eldest daughter of Rebecca Motte. She proved a faithful wife, and skillful nurse, when he was disabled by his wounds in the following year.

PROVOST'S RAID. 1779.

When General Lincoln assumed command in South Carolina in 1779, he found Savannah in the hands of the enemy, and the whole State of Georgia virtually British territory. Emboldened by the failure of the Florida campaign, the Tories had flocked to the British standard, and trampled on the patriot cause. Lincoln crossed the Savannah with a strong force, to rescue the State from their hands. Major Pinckney, who had been appointed one of his aids, accompanied the expedition.

While the American troops were thus employed, Provost, the British general in Savannah, made a bold raid into Carolina. He pushed aside Moultrie's inferior force, which had been left at Beaufort to watch him, and attempted, by a sudden dash, to capture Charleston. The city was unprotected on the land side, and there were no troops to defend it; and had Provost not lost two days on the road, its capture would have been inevitable. But that delay was the salvation of the city. The inhabitants proved equal to the emergency. They hastily threw up lines of defence across the high ground north of Calhoun Street, and mounted such cannon as the urgency of the case permitted.

Moultrie, with a remnant of his force, kept in advance of the enemy, and reached the city in time to encourage the citizens. Rutledge, who had just been invested with dictatorial power by the legislature, issued a proclamation ordering the

militia to join him at Orangeburg, and marched at once for the relief of Charleston. He entered the city, with some hasty levies, the day after Moultrie's arrival. Pulaski, the gallant Pole, who had offered his sword to the American colonies, had been ordered to the South with his infantry and cavalry, and reached the city just as the British were investing it. With characteristic impetuosity, he attacked their superior forces with a spirit which they had not anticipated, showing that the city, if unprotected by proper military works, was not lacking in the higher elements of self-defence. The capture of a despatch from Lincoln, announcing his speedy approach, decided Provost to abandon his attempt to seize the city by a coup de main.

The correspondence of Rutledge with Provost at this juncture has never been explained. It seems to indicate a wavering spirit in the hitherto invincible governor. Whether he was pursuing a temporizing policy merely to gain time, — which was not his way, for he had never sacrificed the bold to the expedient, — or whether he thought the means of defence so inadequate that defence was impossible, we cannot determine from any contemporary records. Provost rejected his propositions of neutrality, and Rutledge transferred the responsibility to the military authorities. Moultrie at once refused the summons to surrender, and announced his determination to defend the city to the utmost. Provost, compelled to abandon his purpose, recrossed the Ashley and took post on the Stono River, under protection of his gunboats.

Lincoln, who had been recalled to the defence of South Carolina, overtook him while engaged in ravaging the Sea Islands. The battle of Stono soon followed, in which Major Pinckney took an active part, as second in command of the light infantry, under Colonel Henderson.

At his suggestion the troops under their orders were drawn up in alternate companies of regulars and militia. He assumed that the latter when charged by British infantry would act on the Hudibrastic maxim, and run away when the fire grew hot; but would return to the fight, if protected by a line of trained soldiers in front. And the result justified his confidence. The militia availed themselves of these welcome gaps for retreat, but gallantly returned to the charge, and did their duty on that well-fought field.

“Major Pinckney gained great applause for his gallant conduct on this day. The battalion to which he was attached charged two companies of the 71st British regiment, and so completely routed them at the point of the bayonet, that only nine men were able to take shelter within their lines.”

Among the officers of this noted regiment was Captain Charles Barrington McKenzie, a gallant foe to whose kindness Major Pinckney owed his life after the battle of Camden, in the following year.

Though defeated in the main object, Provost had his revenge, for he converted his attack into a marauding expedition. On his march to Charleston he had ravaged all the country through which

he passed, including Auckland, Major Pinckney's home on the Ashepoo, where the Chief Justice's book and papers were burned with the house. On his return, the Sea Islands shared the same or a worse fate. The British soldiers "rifled the houses of plate, furniture, pictures, and linen. They stole money and rings and jewelry from men and women. They broke open tombs and rifled the sepulchres. Objects of value which they could not carry away were destroyed; porcelain, mirrors, windows, were dashed to pieces; the gardens, filled with exotics, were laid waste. Domestic animals which could not be used, nor carried off, were wantonly shot; and in some places not even a chicken was left alive." Thus wrote Bancroft, when describing Provost's raid. He was not aware that he was writing prophecy to be fulfilled in our generation. Sherman's soldiers fully equalled British bummers; and his work was more thoroughly done, and on a grander scale. A tract of country one hundred and fifty miles long by thirty broad, through the heart of South Carolina, was laid waste. Houses, barns, stables, villages, churches, and cities were burnt, and chimneys alone were left to tell the sad tale.¹ War has no mercy for "rebels" so called, when waged by English or American commanders.

The following letter refers to Major Pinckney's personal losses by this invasion.

¹ Twenty-one Episcopal churches were destroyed along the line of Sherman's march in South Carolina.

HAMPTON, SANTEE, May 17, 1779.

MY DEAR TOM, — I have just received yours, with the account of my loss, and your almost ruined fortunes by the enemy, — a severe blow! But I feel not for myself, but for you; 'tis for your loss, my greatly beloved child, I grieve. The loss of fortune would affect me little, but that it will deprive my dear children of my assistance when they may stand most in need of it. One happiness however I have ever enjoyed, — that of being free from avarice, which will lighten the present evil with regard to myself; and a very little, at my time of life, will be sufficient. I can want but little, nor that little long.

Your brother's truly generous offer to divide what remains to him among us, is worthy of him. I am greatly affected with, but not surprised at his liberality; I know his disinterestedness, his sensibility and affection. You say I must be sensible you can't agree to this offer. Indeed, my dear Tom, I am very sensible of it; nor can I take a penny from his young and helpless family. Independence is all I wish, and a little will make us that; don't grieve for me, my child, as I do assure you I do not for myself. While I have such children as I have, dare I think my lot hard? God forbid! I pray the Almighty Disposer of events to preserve them and my grandchildren to me. And for all the rest, I hope I shall be able not only contentedly but cheerfully to say, God's sacred will be done!

My blessing attend your brother and self.

Mr. Motte's family are all well. I am, with the tenderest regard,

Your most affectionate mother,

ELIZA PINCKNEY.

P. S. Harriott [Mrs. Horry] will write to you now if possible. She is happy in being able to assist her friends at this time. She sent for Sally [Mrs. C. C. Pinckney] and the children upon the first apprehension of danger, and we were happy when we got them with us. Mrs. Middleton, Lady Mary, Mrs. E. Rutledge, Mrs. Charles Drayton, Mrs. Ralph Izard, Mrs. Mathews, are now here with all their little ones. Mrs. D. Huger, Mrs. Wm. H. Drayton and children, with Miss Elliott and Miss Hyrne left us this morning to go to Peedee. Your sister desires to be affectionately remembered to you both. I need not tell you how much our losses affect her; however, I hope she has fortitude enough to bear them as she ought. Your letter just now received is the first notice I had of the burning of your house, with everything in it that they could not carry away, and the taking away the slaves; nor do I know whether they went voluntarily with the enemy or were taken by force. The enemy was at Belmont, and destroyed everything in the house but took none of the negroes. E. P.

SAVANNAH. 1779.

When Count D'Estaing was about to sail from the West Indies for the siege of Savannah, he despatched a frigate to Charleston, to notify Gen-

eral Lincoln of his plans, and requested that some American officers familiar with French should be sent to him. Lincoln selected Major Pinckney and two others for this duty. They embarked in the frigate commanded by La Peyrouse, the celebrated circumnavigator. Before reaching Tybee, the Frenchman captured a small British sloop-of-war, commanded by Captain McKenzie, brother of the officer already mentioned at the battle of Stono. Learning the names of the American officers with the fleet, the British captain replied to La Perouse's courteous tender of services: "Commit me to the care of Thomas Pinckney. He will not forget an old friend and schoolfellow, even in a captive enemy."

After a bungling disembarkation the French marched for Savannah and encamped around it. D'Estaing sent a summons to surrender to the "army of his most Christian Majesty," wishing apparently to complete the capture before Lincoln's arrival. But failing in this attempt he awaited the day appointed for the junction of the American forces with his own. The united forces then began the siege which, from the obstinacy of the French general and the energy of the British commander, ended so disastrously.

Major Pinckney here rejoined his regiment, which formed a part of the second assaulting column in the attack on the enemy's lines.

The French and American columns were ordered to attack simultaneously at break of day; but darkness and thick woods prevented the concerted movement. Count D'Estaing, with more

courage than skill, dashed on at the head of a column, before his supporting forces were in line, so that the three bodies of French troops were successively exposed to a murderous fire, and driven back with heavy loss.

Pulaski, with characteristic daring, led his lancers over the British lines, and was shot down while attempting to attack them in the rear. Colonel Laurens, our Pulaski, with equal impetuosity at the head of one South Carolina column, assailed the strongest redoubt, and planted his colors on the works. But the parapet was too high to be scaled, and he was compelled to retire. The other columns, consisting of the 1st and 5th South Carolina regiments under General McIntosh, struggling through a morass, did not reach the ground until disorder prevailed on every side. Sent forward by the general to inspect the field, and select a point of attack, Major Pinckney, under a hot fire, penetrated to the strong redoubt where Laurens had just been repulsed. There he found "not one assailant standing," though many were left in the ditch, and the army in hasty retreat. On reporting to the general, McIntosh also ordered his command to fall back.

It was on this occasion that Major Pinckney exhibited that calm courage which has been noted in history. Seeing that his men were growing restive under the fire and the demoralizing scenes around, he hastened to the head of the column, and commanded a halt. In a few brief words he restored confidence to the men and induced them "to quit the field like soldiers." It was the only

part of the column which maintained order in their defeat.

The whole affair lasted only an hour, but in that time a thousand men, French and American, were left dead or wounded on the field. The British loss was fifty-five men. Major Pinckney compared the results of this day to the battle of New Orleans, of which it was a type. A letter from Colonel Pinckney, written on the evening of the battle, gives his impression of the disastrous affair.

"My brother, Mr. Horry, Hugh Rutledge, Major Butler, R. Smith, my cousin Charles, Ladson, Gadsden are well. Count D'Estaing wounded: Pulaski mortally, I fear. J. Jones, nephew of my cousin, killed. My regiment and the 6th preserved their order inviolate, and gave me great satisfaction. The Charleston militia, particularly the volunteer companies, behaved exceedingly well."

The French general reëmbarked his men and sailed for the West Indies. Lincoln returned to South Carolina and left Savannah in the hands of the British.

The following extract from an account prepared by Major Thomas Pinckney, who was present and an earnest actor in the bloody details of this unfortunate and ill-considered attempt, is added:—

"The French troops were to be divided into three columns, the American into two; the heads of which were to be posted in a line, with proper intervals, at the edge of the wood adjoining the open space of five or six hundred yards between

it and the enemy's line, and at four o'clock in the morning, a little before daylight, the whole was, on a signal being given, to rush forward and attack the redoubts and batteries opposed to their front.

"The American column of the right which adjoined the French, were to be preceded by Pulaski with his cavalry, and the cavalry of South Carolina, and were to follow the French until they approached the edge of the wood, when they were to break off and take their position.

"This column was composed of the light infantry under Colonel Laurens of the 2d regiment of South Carolina, and the 1st battalion of Charleston militia. The second American column consisted of the 1st and 5th South Carolina regiments, commanded by Brigadier-General McIntosh of Georgia. A corps of French West India troops, under the Viscomte de Noailles, the artillery, and some American militia, formed the reserve under General Lincoln.

"A feint attack by the South Carolina militia and Georgians, under Brigadier-General Huger, was ordered to be made on the enemy's left; but, instead of the French troops being paraded so as to march off at four o'clock, it was near four before the head of that column reached our front. The whole army then marched towards the skirt of the wood in one long column, and as they approached the open space were to break off into the different columns as ordered for the attack. But by the time the first French column had arrived at the open space, the day had fairly broken, when Count D'Estaing, without waiting

until the other columns had arrived at their positions, placed himself at the head of the first column and rushed forward to the attack. But this body was so severely galled by the grape shot from the batteries as they advanced, and by both grape shot and musketry when they reached the abattis, that, in spite of the efforts of the officers, the column got into confusion and broke away to their left toward the wood in that direction; the second and the third French columns shared successively the same fate, having the additional discouragement of seeing as they marched to the attack the repulse and loss of their comrades who had preceded them.

“Count Pulaski, who with the cavalry preceded the right column of the Americans, proceeded gallantly until stopped by the abattis, and before he could force through it received his mortal wound. In the mean time, Colonel Laurens, at the head of the light infantry, followed by the 2d South Carolina regiment and 1st battalion Charleston militia, attacked the Spring Hill redoubt, got into the ditch, and planted the colors of the 2d regiment on the berm, but the parapet was too high for them to scale under so heavy a fire, and, after much slaughter, they were driven out of the ditch. When General Pulaski was about to be removed from the field, Colonel D. Horry, to whom the command of the cavalry devolved, asked what were his directions. He answered, ‘Follow my lancers, to whom I have given my order of attack.’ But the lancers were so severely galled by the enemy’s fire that they

also inclined off to the left and were followed by all the cavalry, breaking through the American column, who were attacking the Spring Hill redoubt. By this time the 2d American column, headed by General McIntosh, to which I was attached, arrived at the foot of the Spring Hill redoubt, and such a scene of confusion as there appeared is not often equalled. Colonel Laurens had been separated from that part of his command that had not entered the Spring Hill ditch by the cavalry who had borne it before them into the swamp to the left, and when we marched up, inquired *if we had seen them*. Count D'Estaing was wounded in the arm, and endeavoring to rally his men, a few of whom with a drummer he had collected. General McIntosh did not speak French, but desired me to inform the commander-in-chief that his column was fresh, and that he wished his directions where, under present circumstances, he should make the attack. The count ordered that we should move more to the left, and by no means to interfere with the troops he was endeavoring to rally; in pursuing this direction, we were thrown too much to the left, and before we could reach Spring Hill redoubt, we had to pass through Yamacraw swamp, then wet and boggy, with the galley at the mouth annoying our left flank with grape shot. While struggling through this morass, the firing slackened, and it was reported that the whole army had retired. I was sent by General McIntosh to look out from the Spring Hill, where I found not an assailant standing. On reporting this to the gen-

eral, he ordered a retreat, which was effected without much loss, notwithstanding the heavy fire of grape shot with which we were followed."

With characteristic reticence in all that concerned himself, Major Pinckney makes no mention of his own action. But historians of the battle have supplied the omission.

THE SIEGE OF CHARLESTON. 1780.

The effect of this disaster was soon obvious. Sir Henry Clinton determined to reconquer South Carolina also, and restore another rebel province to the British crown. Sailing from New York with a strong fleet, he landed thirty miles south of Charleston. Crossing the Ashley, he sat down before that city with eleven thousand men and a powerful artillery train. The fleet of fifty vessels entered the harbor to assist in the siege. Warned by experience, the British admiral did not undertake the reduction of the palmetto fort, but, taking advantage of wind and tide, sailed rapidly by towards the city. Colonel Pinckney, to whom the defence had been intrusted, opened a brisk fire upon the passing ships, damaging some of them and destroying one frigate. Had the fleet assailed Fort Moultrie, they would have found it a more formidable foe than in Sir Peter Parker's time. Governor Rutledge had used his ample power to impress men, wagons, and horses; and the long bridge was crowded with wagons, hauling timber and fascines from Haddrel's Point. The garrison under Major Pinckney's directions were busy in perfecting the fortifications up to

the day of the expected attack. But the fort was not again destined to be the bulwark of the city. Lincoln needed strong hearts and arms in the beleaguered lines; and Colonel Pinckney with the greater part of his regiment hastened to the succor of the feeble garrison.

Sir Henry Clinton's deliberate approach allowed ample time to fortify the city. The lines of defence thrown up at Provost's invasion were strengthened with additional redoubts. These lines extended from the Cooper River, from the spot now occupied by the Northeastern Railroad, across the elevated ground on which the citadel, the Orphan House, and St. Paul's Church stand, and terminated on the marshes of Cannon's Creek. The lines were mounted with eighty cannon; and a deep ditch cut from river to river along their front. A strong work of masonry was erected across King Street called the Horn redoubt, one fragment of which still survives, inclosed by an iron railing on the Citadel Green. Strong redoubts were also erected on the western, southern, and eastern sides of the city.

As soon as Sir Henry Clinton had completed his first line he summoned the city to surrender. The summons being refused he opened his batteries on the 12th of April. As his lines extended from river to river, the city was completely invested on the land side. He also erected batteries on the western bank of the Ashley and on James Island, which aided in the bombardment. The fleet was anchored across the harbor from Castle Pinckney to James Island, thus completing the investment of the city on every side.

At the request of General Lincoln and his chief officers, Governor Rutledge, on the 13th of April, with four members of his council, left the city in order to preserve the civil authority in the State. He crossed the Cooper River beyond the enemy's lines.

The spirit of the defenders at first was high; the general, the army, and the citizens were resolute in their determination to defend the city; but the superiority of the British fire ere long made them waver. Lincoln himself soon began to despond; and his chief engineer, Colonel Lamey, pronounced defence impossible. Gadsden, Moultrie, and Pinckney urged continued resistance, and were strongly sustained by the citizens, although Moultrie subsequently coincided with the general as to the necessity of surrender.

There were some stormy debates as to the expediency of farther resistance. Lincoln, with the advice of his engineers and other officers, proposed to withdraw the garrison by night across the Cooper River, or to propose terms of capitulation.

William Gilmore Simms, who has collected more information than any other man with reference to the spirit of the defenders, thus described one of the secret councils which met at Lincoln's headquarters. "The lieutenant-governor [Gadsden], with some of his council, protested against the general's proceedings; said that the militia were willing to live upon rice alone, rather than give up the town upon any terms, and that even the old women were so accustomed to the enemy's shot that they travelled the streets without dread.

"After the lieutenant-governor and councillors were gone, Colonel C. C. Pinckney came in abruptly, and, forgetting his usual politeness, addressed General Lincoln in great warmth, and much the same strain that the lieutenant-governor had done, adding that those who were for business required no council, and that he came over from Fort Moultrie to prevent any terms being offered the enemy, or evacuating the garrison. Addressing himself to Colonel Lamey, he charged the engineer department with being the sole authors and promoters of any proposals to the enemy." Major Garden has described Colonel Pinckney's conduct at this, or a subsequent council, in a more dignified style. "I will not say, if the enemy attempt to carry our lines by storm, that we shall be able to resist them successfully; but I am convinced that we shall so cripple the army before us that although we may not live to enjoy the benefits ourselves, yet to the United States they will prove incalculably great. Considerations of self are out of the question; they cannot influence any member of this council. My voice is for rejecting all terms of capitulation, and for continuing hostilities to the last extremity." "This magnanimous proposition, though supported by Colonel Laurens, was not adopted."

The defence was subsequently continued, although the British batteries reached every part of the city, killing women, children, and citizens, as well as soldiers. It was during this bombardment that a shot from the battery on James Island, opposite Meeting Street, struck St. Mi-

chael's Church, and, glancing, broke off the right arm of the statue of William Pitt, which then stood at the junction of Meeting and Broad Streets.

Early in May, Sir Henry Clinton had completed his third parallel, which approached within twenty-five yards of the American lines. He again summoned the garrison to surrender. The 8th and 9th of May were spent in negotiations, which were not accepted by the British commander, whose letter ended with these words: "Hostilities will commence afresh at eight o'clock." General Moultrie, who was familiar with the sound of cannon, states the closing scene thus: "Receiving the above letter, we remained near an hour silent, all calm and ready, each waiting for the other to begin. At length we fired the first gun, and immediately followed a tremendous cannonade; about 180 or 200 pieces of heavy cannon fired off at the same moment, and mortars from both sides threw an immense number of shells. It was a glorious sight to see them like meteors crossing each other, and bursting in the air; it appeared as if the stars were tumbling down. The fire was incessant almost the whole night; cannon-balls whizzing, and shells hissing continually among us; ammunition chests and temporary magazines blowing up; great guns bursting, and wounded men groaning along the lines. It was a dreadful night. It was our last great effort, but it availed us nothing. After this our military ardor abated; we began to cool, and we cooled gradually, and on the 11th of May we capitulated, and on the 12th we marched out and gave up the town.

"About eleven o'clock A. M. we marched out between 1500 and 1600 Continental troops without the Horn work, and piled our arms; the officers marched the men back to barracks, where a British guard was placed over them; the British then asked where our second division was. They were told these were all the Continentals we had; they were astonished, and said we had made a gallant defence."

Some Northern historians have criticised the defence of Charleston and the spirit of its defenders. They have imputed to the Carolina troops a want of earnestness in the cause of the colonies. The details which we have briefly given seem to show that there was no lack of spirit on the part of the Southern officers or soldiers. In their councils of war, they advocated defending the city to the last extremity. The general and his engineers were the parties who proposed first evacuation, and then capitulation. Mr. Simms's volume on "South Carolina in the Revolutionary War" furnishes ample illustration of this statement.

"Return of the Rebel forces surrendered in Charleston," as reported to the British Government by Sir Henry Clinton.

Major-Generals, 2 ; Brigadiers, 5 ; Colonels, 16 ; Captains, 145 ; other officers, 212. Total, commissioned, 401 ; non-commissioned, 504. Total, officers . 905

REGULAR TROOPS.

3 South Carolina Continental Regiments	. 579
South Carolina Battalion Artillery	. . 208
2 Battalions S. C. Militia	. . . 758
	1,545
<i>Amount carried forward</i>	 2,450

<i>Amount brought forward</i>	2,450
Virginia Continentals, 3 Regiments	1,255
North Carolina Regulars	609
North and South Carolina Militia	1,075
	2,939
Officers and men	5,389
Sailors and citizens	670

Colonel Porterfield with five hundred Virginians and troops from Maryland and Delaware were on the march to Charleston, but did not arrive in time to aid their friends.

But this English return of the troops captured refutes the charge of Mr. Sabine that South Carolina felt so little interest in the common cause "that more New England Whigs were sent to her aid, and now lie buried in her soil, than she ever sent to the battlefields from Lexington to Yorktown."

In this her hour of dire distress, she was left to fight her own battles, with such aid as Virginia and North Carolina could supply. The commanding general with some of his staff, and the commodore of the fleet (neither of whom rendered any effective support), were from New England; but with that exception, there was apparently not one Northern man in the army.

During the greater part of the siege, Thomas Pinckney was stationed at the Horn redoubt, of which his regiment had charge. He was occasionally detailed for other duty, as appears by the following extract from De Brahm's diary of the

siege: "A picket consisting of a field officer and one hundred men of the militia brigade were ordered every evening to Gadsden's old house, to support the small guard of regulars upon the wharf, in case of an attack by the enemy's boats upon that quarter. Major Pinckney ordered out on the same duty."

A few days before its fall, Major Pinckney was ordered by Lincoln out of the city, to confer with the governor, and then to hasten on the troops who were coming to its relief from Virginia and North Carolina.

The city was surrendered before they had crossed the Santee River, but Major Pinckney thus escaped the fate of his brother and his regiment when they became prisoners of war.

Sir Henry Clinton's forces soon overran the State, and reëstablished the royal authority everywhere. The Tories came out from their hiding-places, and the Whigs retreated to North Carolina; there was no armed force left in the State; and Sir Henry reported to his government the restoration of the colony to the British crown.

Believing that nothing remained for him to do at home, Major Pinckney went north to offer his services to Washington, as his brother had done three years before. The following letter of introduction from Colonel Pinckney, written upon a sheet of coarse paper, shows that that article was as scarce during the Revolution as it was in the Confederacy, when wall paper, brown paper, and blank pages of old ledgers were made a substitute for better writing materials.

CHARLESTON, June 9, 1780.

Colonel Cotesworth Pinckney presents his respectful compliments to General Washington, and takes the liberty of introducing to him the bearer of this note, his brother, Major Thomas Pinckney, who, being sent a few days before the surrender of Charlestown on some business of importance by General Lincoln to the governor, avoided the captivity which attended those who remained in it; and now quits his country, his fortune, and family, in conformity to those principles he has ever held virtuous.

It is difficult for one brother to speak without partiality of the merit of another, but if General Washington will take the trouble of inquiring of Generals Lincoln or Howe, or any officer who has served in this State, concerning the character of the major, Colonel Pinckney flatters himself it will appear not unworthy the notice of General Washington, considered either in the light of a soldier, a citizen, or a gentleman; and if he should be so fortunate as to receive some of those marks of civility and favor from the general which the colonel was happy enough to experience in the campaign of '77, the captivity of one brother will be alleviated by reflecting on the situation of the other. Before Colonel Pinckney concludes this note, he takes the liberty to mention that he is the senior colonel in the southern department captured in Charleston, and in case of an exchange being upon the carpet hopes that he will not be forgot.

TO MAJOR PINCKNEY.

DEAR TOM, — I inclose you a note of introduction to General Washington, and a letter to Mrs. R., who has some gold of mine in her hands, lodged there by my Mother and wife. As I am sure you will be in want of money at the northward, I shall not think you act affectionately if you do not make use of it. Apply for it, therefore, my dear Tom, without hesitation, and may it be of service to you. Adieu, and be assured I am

Your affectionate brother,

C. C. P.

It is hardly possible to estimate the deep despair which overshadowed the hearts of the patriots. Sir Henry Clinton's announcement to his government that South Carolina was restored to the British crown, and that there was no armed opposition in the colony, could not be contradicted. Only those who heard the ominous tidings in 1865 of the surrender of General Lee can understand the feelings of their ancestors, when they surveyed the hopeless prospects which surrounded them on every side. They were compelled to yield to the storm just as we are compelled to bow to the cyclone's power, when the resistless blast is sweeping over the land, and the forest is torn to pieces before our eyes. But while the timid and despondent gave up the contest and took protection from the British, binding themselves not to bear arms in the cause of the colonies, the more resolute patriots kept their faith in the ultimate tri-

umph of their country. Some refused the offer of British protection and went into the prison ships to be sent to St. Augustine. Others fled to the swamps of the Santee and the Wateree, where Marion was in hiding, and helped to recruit his little band.

Others fled to North Carolina (where Rutledge was) and gathered around Sumter, who had kept together a small force, and thus became the centre of attraction to all who had brave hearts and strong arms. Others in the western parts of the State gathered around Pickens, and organized a force which overawed the Tories and kept alive the hopes of the Whigs. The patriotic fire was never extinguished in the hearts of the people, and blazed out in many a bold act in this time of universal gloom. The indomitable governor hovered around the borders of the State, and infused life and hope into many feeble spirits. He gave Sumter a brigadier's commission, and stimulated him to loftier deeds.

He sent a similar commission to Marion, and gave him command of the country along the Great Pedee River, from Camden to Georgetown. After the battle of Cowpens, where Colonel Pickens had distinguished himself, Rutledge gave him also a brigadier's rank, extending his authority over the western part of the State. As these leaders grew stronger they assailed the British convoys and the military posts, replenishing their own scanty supplies of arms and ammunition, and strengthening the hearts of their countrymen.

But the British commanders were doing their

part to fan the patriotic flame which they had hoped was finally extinguished.

Sir Henry Clinton's proclamations had recognized the colonists as loyal subjects, from whom he required absolute neutrality, in return for protection in person and property.

Lord Cornwallis's proclamations went farther, and demanded an active support of the royal cause, by taking up arms in its defence when required to do so.

When the Carolinian was thus compelled to fight against or for his native State, his decision was promptly made, even though he incurred the risk of meeting a traitor's doom. He left his family, mounted his horse, and rode to the nearest patriot camp. These constant additions of avowed rebels to their ranks enabled Sumter, Marion, and Pickens to overawe the Tory bands which had terrorized the country, and organize the patriot forces to join the coming deliverer.

Why did not Thomas Pinckney join these patriots, instead of going to offer his services to Washington?

He probably thought resistance hopeless then and for some time to come; and that British power could only be struck successfully on a larger field and by organized forces, such as Congress alone could furnish. Rutledge very possibly thought that he could do more for his State in Washington's camp, and near the halls of Congress, than he could at home, and advised him accordingly.

Moreover, there was no continental force and

no continental officer of rank to whom he could report in South Carolina. He felt some professional scruple in placing an officer in the continental line under the orders of a partisan commander. Whatever was the reason, he joined the Northern army in Pennsylvania and the Jerseys, and was with Washington until Gates began his march to the South in the following year.

CAMDEN AND THE END OF THE WAR. 1781-1782.

Major Pinckney did not long remain away from his native State. Congress took active measures to recover South Carolina from British rule. They ordered troops to be raised and equipped in the Southern States for this purpose, and without consulting Washington, appointed Gates to the command.

The great reputation of the victor of Saratoga soon drew recruits to his standard. Delaware and Maryland sent their contribution of Continentals and militia. Colonel Porterfield, who had marched with five hundred Virginians for the relief of Charleston, but could not reach it before its fall, had retreated to North Carolina, and was ready to join the Southern army. Thomas Pinckney was among the earliest to proffer his services to the new commander of the forces. He was appointed by Gates one of his aides, and served in that capacity until after the battle of Camden. As the army moved southward volunteers came in, so that by the time he reached South Carolina Gates had from five to six thousand men under his command.

His first objective point was Camden, in the northern part of the State, the strongest British post in South Carolina outside of Charleston. He thought his force powerful enough to strike the foe as successfully as he had done at Saratoga.

But alas for his vanity; he found the British lion's claws sharper than in the northern latitude, and retired from the struggle with lacerated reputation.

Lord Cornwallis marched out from Camden and attacked him with such impetuosity as utterly to rout his army. The militia threw away their arms and fled in terror to the woods, and eventually to their homes. Five or six hundred were killed and one thousand made prisoners, including all the wounded. The artillery and baggage trains all fell into the hands of the enemy. "Never was a victory more complete or a defeat more total," says Bancroft.

The only resistance offered to the enemy was by the Continentals, who gallantly held their ground under the brave De Kalb, till that patriot soldier fell under eleven wounds.

General Gates had already left the field, borne along (reluctantly we hope) by the retreating militia, and retired to Charlotte, N. C.

He might profitably recall the parting caution of General Lee: "Take heed lest your Saratoga laurels be changed to a willow wreath."

In a generous effort to rally the fugitives and to cover the retreat of his chief, "that brave and distinguished officer of the South Carolina

line, Major Pinckney, was severely wounded, and left upon the field." Captain McKenzie, his old schoolfellow and former opponent at Stono, found him insensible, and had him removed to Camden with the wounded British soldiers. He was laid in the piazza of a patriotic lady, Mrs. Clay, whose rest he refused to disturb. In the morning a man apparently dead was lying at her door; but he had only again fainted from exhaustion. Captain McKenzie obtained permission from Tarleton to bring his regimental surgeon to attend to his wounds. Something in the prisoner excited Tarleton's generous feelings. He ordered every attention to be paid him, sent him wine and other delicacies, proffered his purse, and (what is still more surprising in a reckless dragoon) offered to restore Mrs. Motte's horses, four fine bays, which he had impressed from her stables. As this is the only good thing I have ever heard of Tarleton, I am bound in justice and in gratitude to record it. A bold and reckless rider, he ever left a bloody track behind him. No British officer was more cordially hated in the South.

After the departure of the British from Camden, Major Pinckney's young wife was summoned to her wounded husband, leaving her infant of a month old, and became both nurse and surgeon. Under his direction she removed the splintered bones which continued to exfoliate from his wounded leg. As soon as his strength was sufficiently restored to bear the journey, he was carried to St. Joseph's, the home of his mother-in-

law. The permit of Lord Cornwallis "authorizing Mrs. Motte to remove Major Pinckney to her house on the Congaree, until convalescent," is still in existence.

This house where he spent many months of weary convalescence has become historic. Built upon a commanding hill overlooking the Congaree River, it was selected by the British general as one of the links in the chain of fortified posts, by which the State was bound to its allegiance. The new and spacious mansion was inclosed in a stockade, and St. Joseph's was converted into Fort Motte. While comparative peace reigned, Mrs. Motte was invited to occupy a part of the house; but when hostilities were resumed on the arrival of Greene, and Marion and Sumter and other patriotic leaders were assailing the British and their allies, Mrs. Motte was removed to her overseer's residence.

Marion and Lee with his legion were ordered to reduce the fort. They laid siege to it, and shut up the garrison in their works.

But the rapid approach of Lord Rawdon compelled them to force a surrender by setting fire to the house. Reluctantly they informed Mrs. Motte of the necessity of destroying her home. Her patriotism was equal to the emergency. She not only gave a cordial consent to the sacrifice, but furnished the means of effecting it. She had with her a quiver of East-Indian arrows which ignited on percussion. Armed with these novel weapons, the two commanders returned to their work. The arrows were fired from a rifle, and

set the roof on fire. The garrison endeavored to put out the flames, but the American riflemen picked off every man who ventured on the roof. The powder magazine was under the house, and as the fire was gaining way, there was no alternative but destruction or surrender.

The white flag was hung out; the victors rushed in and united with the garrison in the grateful task of saving the house. But history has done justice to Mrs. Motte's generous purpose, and accorded to the intentional sacrifice the full credit of an accomplished fact.

When his wound permitted, Major Pinckney was sent to Charleston, the British headquarters, where he met his friends after more than a year's separation. Thence in company with his brother he was shipped to Philadelphia, the post where prisoners of war were exchanged. The two brothers were permitted to keep house together, in company with some of their comrades, fresh from the prison ships at St. Augustine.

It is one of many instances in which history repeats itself, that eighty-three years afterwards one of his grandsons, another Thomas Pinckney, also an officer in a "rebel" army, was shipped to Philadelphia as a prisoner of war, and for many weary months enjoyed the hospitalities of Fort Delaware. Candor compels me to say that the Confederate prisoner had far greater hardships to bear than his Revolutionary ancestor.

After more than a year of captivity Major Pinckney was exchanged, and slowly regained the use of his leg. In September, 1781, we find him

in Virginia on recruiting service. There he was brought into contact with La Fayette, and a life-long friendship sprung up between them.

From a letter which survives, I infer that he accompanied the Marquis to Yorktown, and witnessed the capture of Cornwallis, and the virtual termination of the war. As Major Pinckney recalled the last occasion on which he had had the misfortune to meet the British general, riding triumphantly over the bloody field of Camden, and his changed condition now, the words of the Roman historian might very naturally occur to his mind, if transposed: "Victor in prælio, Victus in bello." The truth of the maxim was singularly illustrated in the Revolutionary contest, and to a large extent in the Confederate war.

The superiority of the British troops to the American during all the earlier years of the war is obvious. The prestige of trained and well equipped soldiers, commanded by officers of experience, was too much for new recruits. When protected by intrenchments, the militia could make strong resistance, but in the open field they fled before the British bayonet. The Continentals soon acquired courage enough to look the royal troops in the face; but it required several years of war's stern discipline to give them sufficient confidence to meet the enemy on equal terms. The battle of Stono, the siege of Savannah, the field of Cowpens, King's Mountain, and Eutaw show increasing courage and gallant bearing in the Southern troops. But Camden is an illustration of the terror with which the untrained soldier

met the British grenadier, — actually throwing away his arms, and fleeing to his home.

The contrast between the Revolution and the Confederate war is very striking. The courage and fortitude displayed at the very first encounter with superior forces in our civil war, at Manassas, equalled any exhibited during the Revolution. The defence of Sumter and Wagner rivalled and surpassed anything in our former annals. The battlefields of Virginia manifested a heroism in the Southern troops which called forth the admiration of British critics. No such generals as Lee, Jackson, and Johnston, or Grant, McClellan, and Thomas, came to the front during the Revolutionary contest. In the race of statesmen, we have lost rather than gained. Calhoun, Webster, and Clay tower above the later generation; but in military spirit there has been a vast increase in the country. The rapidity with which companies, regiments, and brigades were raised, equipped, and sent into the field vastly exceeded anything in our Revolutionary annals. The small State of South Carolina in less than twelve months had twelve thousand men armed, drilled, and ready for service. With sixty thousand voters, she sent into the field sixty-two thousand men, as her contribution to the Confederate armies. The political excitement which pervaded the country partially explained this fact; but the whole conduct of the war argues a great increase in the military spirit of our people. Our free institutions and the conscious strength of our nation probably explain the increase in military courage.

The generals whom the Congress sent to command in South Carolina were unsuccessful until the arrival of General Greene. General Charles Lee proved only a dead weight upon the State; he blundered sadly at Fort Moultrie and in Florida. His European education proved rather a disqualification for a campaign in American forests; and his contempt for everything American did not increase his ability to control American troops. The contrast with another General Lee is almost ludicrous. When Robert Lee was sent to the South Carolina coast on a similar mission, in the early part of our civil war, he took in the whole situation at a glance. He advised the abandonment of the Sea Islands, and laid down a line of defence which proved effective until the end of the contest.

General Howe, the second officer sent by Congress to our assistance, lacked military genius, and did nothing to aid us, or to enhance his own reputation. Lincoln was a brave and patriotic man, but he lacked the instinct and the energy necessary in a commanding general. His Georgia campaign was a failure; the risk which he incurred did not justify the movement; and the result was the loss of Georgia and the great peril of Charleston in 1779. The defence of Charleston in 1780 was also a mistake (as Washington emphatically pronounced it); but after determining to stand the siege, and promising the citizens to do so, he began to doubt if defence were possible. He vacillated between withdrawing the troops and defending the post, until the time had

passed for action, and this vacillation impaired his influence over the minds of those whom he was endeavoring to aid.

Of all the congressional generals, Gates was the most unfortunate. His terrible failure at Camden raised a storm of indignation which blasted his reputation, and threatened his life. Major Pinckney endeavored to moderate the violence of public feeling by publishing a pamphlet in defence of his former chief. While he admitted his sad error on that occasion, he recalled his valuable services at Saratoga.

He advocated the justice of striking a balance between the failure and the success. Washington took a similar view of the case, and never withdrew his confidence from the defeated general. The first turn of the tide in the South was marked by Morgan's brief command. But Greene alone redeemed the tarnished glory of American commanders.

Gates had been sent to the South by the Congress without consulting Washington. Having grown wiser by experience, they asked the commander-in-chief to select a successor to conduct the Southern campaign.

He nominated Greene, and the result justified his wisdom. With courage enough to follow Washington's Fabian policy, — not striking until he was ready, and then striking boldly, — he won post after post from the enemy, and restored confidence to the army and the people, and by his brilliant campaigns redeemed the Southern colonies from British rule. South Carolina and

Georgia gratefully acknowledged their obligations to this commander; and by princely donations of land and money testified their appreciation of his eminent services.

The spirit of the conquered, yet still unconquered, people has been drawn by a competent witness, Colonel Tarleton. He had marked how the patriot leaders, Sumter, Marion, Pickens, and others had roused the courage of their countrymen in the gloomy night of defeat; he had tested their prowess upon many a sharp field; he had felt the edge of Colonel Washington's sabre in a hand-to-hand conflict, and had fled with his scattered troops before the rebel horse; and his indirect compliment to his foes comes out while lauding the British troops.

"It is impossible to do justice to the spirit, patience, and invincible fortitude displayed by the commanders, officers, and soldiers during these dreadful campaigns in the Carolinas.

"They had not only to contend with men, and those by no means deficient in bravery and enterprise, but they encountered and surmounted difficulties and fatigues from the climate and country which would appear insuperable in theory, and almost incredible in relation."¹

In the final redemption of his native State, Thomas Pinckney could take no active part. A wounded prisoner of war, his spirit chafed when he heard of Cowpens and King's Mountain, which marked the turn of the tide, and of Greene's steady advances and masterly retreats. He heard

¹ Tarleton's *Memoirs*.

how Marion, Sumter, and Pickens came out from their hiding-places, glad to strike some hearty blow for their oppressed country; how the militia, burning under a sense of the wrongs inflicted upon them by British rule, hastened to the side of these patriot leaders, and gathering up arms and ammunition from their fallen foes, swelled the current which rolled from the mountains to the sea, until every British post and every Tory band was utterly swept away, and the British army shut up around Charleston, under the protection of their fleet. All this no doubt helped his wounds, and cheered his spirit; yet so slowly did his wounds heal that a year had elapsed before he could mount his horse. And in January, 1783, one of his family wrote: "Uncle's leg has broken out again, and pieces of bone have worked their way out." Long after peace had dwelt in the land, he was often reminded of the cost at which he had served his country. Yet this enforced quiet which he was called upon to endure while a prisoner of war helped to curb his ardent temperament, and qualified him to exercise that calm self-control which he was afterwards to need in diplomatic intercourse with his former foes.

THOMAS PINCKNEY.

GOVERNOR. 1787-1788.

As soon as peace was restored, Major Pinckney returned to Charleston, and resumed the practice of law. His private affairs, sadly deranged by seven years of civil war, demanded all his energy; but his respite from public service was brief. In 1787 he was elected governor of the State, succeeding General Moultrie in that office.

He had no opposition, as appears by the following letter from Colonel Pinckney to his mother:—

CHARLESTON, February 22, 1787.

HONORED MADAM, — Yesterday the election of officers occurred in the Assembly. I have the pleasure to acquaint you that my brother was elected with the greatest éclat to the office of governor. There were 170 voters, out of which he had 163 votes; the others were votes of a whimsical nature. Captain Gadsden was elected lieutenant-governor, and Major Butler, Colonel Washington, Mr. Edward Rutledge, and Colonel Jervais privy councillors. There are several clients in the next room, therefore I must conclude. Remember me affectionately to all with you, and be assured I am

Your dutiful son,

CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY.

The Journal of the Senate shows that the mode of electing the governor by the legislature prevailed then as it did until our day.

“February 20, 1787. The Honorable Thomas Pinckney was chosen Governor by the General Assembly and a committee appointed to notify him of his election.

“February 21. Honorable Thomas Pinckney, Esq., attended and qualified in the presence of the Senate and House. The oath was administered by J. J. Pringle, speaker, and it was ordered that he be proclaimed on Saturday, 24.

“February 24. His Excellency Thomas Pinckney, preceded by the sheriff, bearing the sword of State, accompanied by members of the Privy Council, the Honorable President and members of the Senate, Honorable Speaker and members of the House of Representatives, came into the Senate room, and from thence to the balcony, where his Excellency was proclaimed Governor of the State. After this they proceeded in procession to the Exchange, where his Excellency was again proclaimed.”

The early records of our State are to be found only in manuscript volumes in Columbia. They were not printed until some time in this century.

Many of these records have been lost, and much confusion has prevailed in the mode of classifying and preserving them. It is difficult to obtain any accurate view of the legislation of that period. An examination of the meagre records which survive gives some insight into Governor Pinckney's administration. Questions of finance

occupy a prominent place in his communications to the legislature. The relations of debtor and creditor were as complicated then as they were in 1865, after our civil war, when one hundred dollars in gold was worth many hundred in currency. The governor recommends the adoption of a sliding scale corresponding to the variation of the currency, to secure justice to both parties as far as was possible. He also urges the settlement of debts due to foreign creditors. In another message he calls attention to the difficulties under which officers of the late continental army labor as public creditors, and prays for some action for their relief.

Strange as it may seem to us, the defence of our frontiers against the aggression of the Indians occupies the largest share of his official communications. He notifies the legislature of the expiration of the term of enlistment of the corps, stationed near the Cherokee country, and requests their speedy decision as to the continuance of the force. He strongly recommends that a permanent military force be established to give confidence to our people, and to restrain the hostile acts of the Indians; he recommends that the cavalry be dispensed with as expensive, and not as useful as we had hoped, and that the infantry be retained permanently. He informs the legislature that the State had done all that she could to maintain peace with our neighbors, and lays before them the address of the commissioners to the head men of the Creek nation. He warmly commends the efficient aid of General Pickens in dealing with

the Indians. The legislature, in response to his appeal, authorizes the governor to maintain and use this military force as he shall think best, and also to assure the Indians of its friendly feelings; it also authorizes the governor to adopt, during the recess, any measure he may think necessary to suppress the outrages of the Creek Indians.

The most important act during his term of office was the adoption of the Federal Constitution. On the 10th of January, 1788, he submits to the legislature the proposed Constitution, lately adopted by the convention in Philadelphia, as the most important matter he can present to their consideration. His message, with the accompanying papers, was referred to a committee of thirty. October 9, 1788 he notifies the legislature "that eleven States had ratified the Constitution; that the convention of South Carolina met on the 24th of May, and after twelve days' deliberation ratified the same. Having been chosen to preside over that body, he would order its journal to be laid before the legislature." The act of adoption of the Constitution is signed by Thomas Pinckney as president. The elder brother was among the active framers of that instrument and its strongest advocate in the South Carolina convention; the younger introduced it to the people of his State, with his signature attached, as their organic law. In 1860 the convention of South Carolina repealed that ordinance of 1788 which bound the State to the Union, and thus accomplished the act of secession.

The most effective service which Thomas Pinck-

ney rendered to his State, while in this office, was his firm dealing with murderers. Angry passions were still rife in society, in the legislature, and in the courts of justice. The life of a Tory was very cheap; the law was feebly administered, and often defied. The governor publicly refused to use the pardoning power in behalf of convicted murderers, and his determination worked a speedy change in the number of criminals. His administration, Ramsay testifies, "had a marked effect in suppressing crime," and in restoring the authority of law. Charles J. Ingersoll, many years after, recognizes the value of this service. In his history of the war of 1812, he gives a brief sketch of the administration of Thomas Pinckney as governor of the State, and selects this point as the characteristic of his gubernatorial career: "In his office as governor of South Carolina, it was his just pride, with the firmness for which he was remarkable, that he never exercised the much-abused power to pardon, believing that the law, to be respected, must be enforced."

If his mode of dealing with murderers was stern, his policy towards Tories was lenient. The bitter contest between Whigs and Tories in the upper half of the State had left its impress upon our legislation. The Southern colonies had no cause of quarrel with the king or Parliament. We were entirely satisfied with the government, and the sentiment of loyalty was very strong in South Carolina.

The leaders, perhaps, could see that the interests of the colonies were politically the same, and that

the cause of Boston was the cause of Philadelphia and of Charleston. But the majority could not, and were unwilling to take up a quarrel in which they felt no interest, or to go to war for a principle which might never have any practical value. Public sentiment was so equally divided in many parts of the State that it was difficult to say whether king or Congress had a majority. Where parties were so nicely balanced, yet so widely sundered in political sympathy, the appeal to arms was the natural and inevitable result. Whigs and Tories soon came to blows, and each party made the other feel its power.

After the fall of Charleston and the conquest of the State by Sir Henry Clinton, many patriotic citizens, despairing of success, submitted to the conqueror, and took the protection offered. The more resolute hid in the swamps, or fled to North Carolina. When the patriots finally triumphed, and resumed their civil powers, they enacted sharp laws against their offending fellow-citizens.

Banishment, confiscation, or fines, graded to the nature of their transgression, was the punishment meted out to those who had borne arms for the British government, or accepted its protection.

Charles Cotesworth Pinckney had used his influence in the legislature to modify the penalties inflicted upon his misguided fellow-citizens, especially those who had sinned negatively by taking protection. His brother, as governor, had executed his office on the same generous principles. To tread on the fallen was utterly alien to the nature of both, and Thomas Pinckney's influence

as governor had a happy effect in healing the breaches of his native State.

Two incidents may be mentioned during his official term. He gives notice to the legislature of the depredations of a band of armed negroes in the southern part of the State, and suggests measures for suppressing the evil promptly. The other incident throws a strong light upon the feeling in South Carolina with reference to the importation of slaves. On the 23d of January, 1788, a motion was made to grant leave to bring in a bill "to authorize the importation of negroes." On taking the question, every man from Charleston voted no, except Ædanus Burke. By a vote of ninety-three "noes" to forty "ayes" the legislature refused permission to introduce the bill.

As a colony South Carolina had protested against their importation. But after slave labor became our settled policy, sanctioned by the Federal Constitution, she resisted with all her strength any interference with her domestic affairs.

Had not the anti-slavery fanaticism of those whose ancestors imported slaves, and sold them to us, goaded the South to madness, slavery would have been gradually abolished. The same feeling which prevailed in Virginia would by degrees have controlled the other States. In 1832 she decided by a majority of only one vote to retain slavery within her limits. But violence produced its usual results, and excited the South to assert by force her legal rights.

In 1789, as soon as his official term had ended, Mr. Pinckney was offered by Washington the

office of federal judge for South Carolina. But his domestic affairs, so long neglected, compelled him to decline the honor. In this connection a letter of Jefferson's to Edward Rutledge is appropriate: "Would to God yourself, General Pinckney, or Major Pinckney would come forward to aid us with your efforts. You are all known, respected, and wished for, but you refuse yourselves to everything.

"What is to become of us, my dear friend, if the vine and the fig-tree withdraw, and leave us to the bramble and the thorn?"¹

¹ MS. letter, T. Jefferson to Ed. Rutledge.

DIPLOMATIC.

THE ENGLISH MISSION. 1792-1796.

HITHERTO we have traced Thomas Pinckney's career through the armed struggle with Great Britain, and his duties as governor of the State. We must now follow him to the field of diplomacy, where the results of the Revolutionary contest were to be worked out.

Though Major Pinckney declined the offer of a seat on the federal bench, he could not long indulge his taste for private life. In 1791 he was nominated by Washington to the responsible position of minister to London. The United States had had no representative in England since the inauguration of the federal government. John Adams had been sent to England in 1785, to represent the Continental Congress. "Gouverneur Morris was an informal diplomatic agent for a short time, without powers." But no minister had yet been accredited to the English court. The American people had no desire for closer intercourse with their recent foes. On the other hand, the king, the court, and the nation, all were still deeply irritated against their revolted colonies. An ambassador from the United States could only be the envoy of an upstart nation, representing successful resistance to authority. Grave doubts existed among our statesmen as to the

expediency of any such appointment, as the debates in the Cabinet and in Congress prove. Mr. Jefferson strongly opposed the mission, on the ground "that it would be a mere waste of money to appoint any minister to the Court of St. James during this reign" (George III.); and many others thought that the time had not yet come for any friendly advances on our part. But Washington's dispassionate judgment came to a different conclusion. He determined to establish the mission, and selected Thomas Pinckney to fill it.

The President's choice seems to have been directed by his personal judgment of Mr. Pinckney's qualifications, rather than by ordinary political rules. Mr. Pinckney was a young man who had distinguished himself in the army, but had never been in political life. The governor's office, which is administrative rather than political, was the only civil post he had ever occupied; nor had he any diplomatic training whatever. Washington's personal intercourse with him was limited. He had known him, in the brief period when he served under him in 1780, and afterwards during his presidential tour through the South in the spring of 1791; but upon this knowledge he selected him, without solicitation from any quarter, for this responsible, honorable, but trying public duty. Alexander Hamilton, in alluding to his appointment, says: "The idea of nominating Mr. Thomas Pinckney originated with the President himself; but whatever may have been its source, it is certain that it met the approbation of the whole administration, Mr. Jefferson included."

To Thomas Pinckney the nomination was entirely unexpected, as appears by the following letter written on the day on which he received the news:—

TO MR. EDWARD RUTLEDGE.

FAIRFIELD, Thursday Night, November 24, 1791.

MY DEAR FRIEND, — Your favor by Jack was delivered to me a couple of hours ago, covering a letter from Mr. Jefferson informing me (agreeably to your Northern intelligence) that he had it in charge from the President to ask whether it would be agreeable that he should nominate me to the Senate as minister plenipotentiary to the court of London. Your departure from town on Saturday has precipitated my determination, upon less consideration than I ought to give to it; but my desire to give you and my brother information of it has induced me to think as fully on the subject as the shortness of the time will admit, and the result is my acquiescence in the appointment. Almost every private consideration appears to me to be against this determination, but every public one (my inability excepted) in favor of it. In short, all my plans, projects, private interest, and indolence must give way to my sense of the importance of such an office being in the hands of one of our way of thinking.

I purpose bringing my wife to town in company with my sister and niece in a few days, and shall defer till then writing my answer to Mr. Jefferson, unless you shall inform me by express that an opportunity for Philadelphia offers in the in-

intermediate space, and this intermediate space I still reserve to myself wherein to alter my opinion. My reason for desiring you to send an express if an opportunity by sea offers is that Mr. Jefferson says: "Let me only ask the favor of you to give me an immediate answer, and by duplicate, by sea and post, that we may have the benefit of both chances of receiving it as early as possible. On receiving your permission, the necessary orders for your salary together with your credentials shall be forwarded to you, and it would be expected that you should proceed on the mission as soon as you can have made those arrangements for your private affairs, which such an absence may render indispensable." On the latter part of this paragraph as to the time I should require to prepare for my departure, two months I think not unreasonable.

Pray let me have your thoughts on these and any other subjects of immediate consideration, by a letter left for me in town, unless you should send an express. I am almost ashamed of requiring this of you at the moment of your departure, but as you made me a governor, and now insist upon my being a minister, you must advise me in this situation, as you supported me in the former.

Jefferson's letter is a very handsome and a very friendly one; indeed the appointment is far beyond anything I had a right to expect, or I fear can do justice to. Would to God it were as agreeable as it is honorable; the matter of interest is not I conceive such as will benefit me at all, or prejudice my affairs materially.

I think I should write to the President himself, as well as to Jefferson, on the appointment, but as I have not heard directly from him I have some doubts of the propriety; let me have your sentiments particularly on this head.

Adieu, my dear Ned. If I do not conclude at once, I shall render it impracticable for you to give opinions before your departure on every case which may suggest itself, and thereby disappoint the hope I have of receiving a long letter from you on my arrival in town.

My wife, I thank God, mends, though slowly. I have not ventured to open the subject to her. It would be too much for the weak state of her nerves. Poor Gadsden, too, is gone. My heart is filled with anguish, while my head is disturbed with this unfortunate appointment. Once more adieu.

Your truly affectionate

THOMAS PINCKNEY.

From the following letter, the mission to England does not appear more gratifying to Mrs. Pinckney than to her husband: —

JUDGE IREDELL TO HIS WIFE (IN PHILADELPHIA).

CHARLESTON, April 19, 1792.

. . . Major Pinckney (the minister to Britain) and his family sail to-morrow. I have received such uncommon courtesies from him and his connections that I must earnestly entreat you to wait on Mrs. Pinckney soon after her arrival. The only fault imputed to her is the very same to which you are liable, — her too great fondness for

retirement and an exclusive attachment to domestic life. She is a most amiable woman, and none can be more free from any kind of pride or affectation.

I am told that she has been in tears almost ever since her husband's appointment. She has many near connections and friends to leave, who are extremely attached to her, and to add to her distress, she has lately had a child inoculated, whose situation is still critical.¹

If John Adams had seen either of these letters, he could not have suspected Mr. Pinckney of plotting for this appointment, as will appear hereafter.

As soon as he could arrange his domestic affairs, Mr. Pinckney left home with his wife and children, and sailed for England, stopping in Philadelphia long enough to confer with the President on the main points of his mission. His house in London was No. 1 Great Cumberland Place, whence his letters for the next four years are dated.

Though accorded a polite reception at court, Mr. Pinckney entered upon the duties of his mission amidst many embarrassments, social and political. Whig statesmen and some of the Whig nobility met him with cordiality, and many of his old associates greeted him warmly. One of them, Mr. Burges, under Secretary of State to Lord Auckland, thus writes to his chief, "We have a new American minister, Mr. Pinckney, an old

¹ Iredell's *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 346.

friend and brother-Westminster of mine, whose manners and temper exactly qualify him for the place he has taken. I have known him about thirty years, and I do not know a more worthy and excellent man." Lord Shelburne and the Earl of Buchan were among his warm friends; but these were exceptions to the rule. The atmosphere of the Court and of the whole Tory party, he felt to be unfriendly; and the coldness which proceeded from the throne pervaded the nation, as thoroughly as the icy current from the Rocky Mountains chills our whole Atlantic seaboard. Coldness to America became fidelity to England, and the ambassador felt the chill. The taint of rebellion still cleaved to our country and her representative, as the following letter plainly shows:

MAJOR PINCKNEY TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

December, 1792.

In my first communication I mentioned the civility with which I was received at St. James, and at the Office of Foreign Affairs. The only circumstance worth mentioning in my conference with the king was that Lord North's rope of sand appeared not to have been entirely effaced from his Majesty's memory; so I infer, from his mentioning the different circumstances between the Northern and Southern parts of our country tending to produce disunion. I declined entering on any discussion, observing only that we agreed very well at present, and hoped a continuance of the same disposition. I have been constant in every attendance at the king's levees since the

return of the court to St. James, and, placing myself in the circle of foreign ministers, his Majesty never fails to have a few moments' conversation with me on the weather, or other topic equally important; but notwithstanding the great variety of incident that has lately occurred in European politics, he never touches upon that subject with me. Indeed not only the king but most of his courtiers, and (except the Pole) all the foreign ministers, seem to consider the Americans as united in principles with the French, and as having by example, at least, assisted in exciting the commotions with which a great part of Europe is convulsed, and consequently are not very agreeable associates. Some of the foreign ministers with whom I am most intimate have told me that this idea prevails; at the same time they have been polite enough to make, themselves, a proper distinction between the modes of conducting the Revolutions in the two different countries. Although I consider this an honorable testimony of the good conduct of my country, it serves to keep me at a greater distance from those with whom it is my business to have most intercourse than would otherwise be the case. The queen received me with great affability at my audience; but at the drawing-rooms, though she condescends to say a few words to me, yet she gives a marked priority to any person near. It is, in short, very evident that I am by no means in favor in any of the apartments of St. James.

You may be sure that I avoid everything that tends to widen the distance, by keeping as clear

as possible of all European politics, by forbearing all mention of the cold civility that I experience, and in general by aiming at a conciliatory conduct. Of the diplomatic corps the minister from Poland converses freely with me, and we are on good terms; the rest consider me as one who, with respect to the present European politics, neither rejoices in their joy, nor is afflicted with their sorrow. They have all, however, paid me the compliment of the first visit, except the Russian minister, and with him I have no acquaintance.

Since writing the above the Russian minister has sent me his card.

It is evident from this letter that the association of the French Revolution with ours, in the public mind, was a constant hinderance in Mr. Pinckney's path. The men who had been upheaved in that fearful convulsion were often brutal specimens of humanity, and the English might naturally expect something repulsive in the representative of the American Republic. When they met in the new ambassador a man of singular courtesy, dignity, and refinement, combined with large acquirements and diplomatic tact, they relaxed their rigidity, and gradually recognized him as the peer of royal representatives. But it required several years of patriotic effort to melt the ice which had originally inclosed him. One of his contemporaries, travelling in England, accused him of "too much coldness" during his mission. But we at the South, who have passed through a similar ordeal, can well understand and appreciate his motives.

Refined in nature and habit, he was not the man to thrust himself upon reluctant strangers. He realized, as we of the South have done, that premature efforts at conciliation, however well meant, serve rather to irritate than to harmonize discordant political elements. We have learnt that an entire generation must pass away before the wounds of civil war can be healed, or its ugly scars obliterated. Robert Lee's reticence, under somewhat similar circumstances, did more to restore mutual respect and lasting concord than all the unwise efforts of gushing politicians.

But the political difficulties which the ambassador encountered were of a far graver character than the social. The treaty of peace which closed the Revolutionary war had never been faithfully executed. The military posts on the Great Lakes and the Northwestern frontier had never been surrendered. Detroit, Niagara, Oswego, and the posts on Lake Champlain, were still held by British garrisons. Debts due to American citizens, recognized as such in the treaty of peace, were still refused payment.

But the violation of treaty rights did not complete the catalogue of wrongs inflicted on our nation. The habitual violation of our neutral rights upon the high seas, to the great injury of our commerce, aggravated by the confiscation of ships and cargoes, and the seizure of American seamen, was another grave offence.

To check these outrages, or at least to obtain redress for them, gave him full employment for four years.

A glance into his papers will illustrate the duties of the first representative of the United States to the Court of St. James; and also show the position which his nation occupied a hundred years since.

Contempt for the rights of a republic born in rebellion, and not yet strong enough to enforce respect, marked the conduct of Great Britain towards the United States. Her wars with France, lasting with brief intervals for nearly thirty years, afforded some plausible excuse for trampling upon the neutral rights of other nations.

Take some specimens of the seizure of ships.

1. The brig *Mary*, bound from Charleston to Havre, consigned to the American consul, and loaded with coffee and cotton (1793), was captured by a privateer, and brought into an English port. The captain applied to the consul in London for redress. Failing to obtain it, he appeals to the minister, who at once interposed in his behalf. It is interesting to note that cotton had at this early period become a recognized article of export.

2. The American brig *Pearl*, from Cork, bound to the United States, was stopped off the harbor by a British man-of-war, and eight passengers taken from her. "They had the written permission of the Lord Lieutenant and Privy Council. They had complied with all the requirements of the law, and had prepaid their passage in Cork; yet were forcibly detained on board said ship." The consigners (a Quaker firm) appealed to the Admiral commanding the station, "to order the release of these landsmen, the king's free subjects, going by the

authority stated, in a neutral vessel, to a country in amity with Great Britain, and to permit the vessel to proceed on her voyage."

The Admiral sustained his Captain, and dismissed the appeal in language more professional than polite. But the Quaker firm, with all the tenacity of belligerents, carried their appeal to the American ambassador, to be laid before the British government. The vessel was speedily released upon his demand; but the fate of his Majesty's "free subjects" was not so easily settled.

3. The ship *Illustrious President* was arrested in the harbor of Madeira by the British frigate *Hyena*, and seven seamen who were claimed as Englishmen were taken from her. The American consul claimed the protection of the governor of Madeira, who promptly ordered the men brought on shore, and restored them to their ship. The consul, in his report to the minister in London, rejoices that he had "thus humbled the pride of the haughty Briton," and hopes that the President of the United States would publicly recognize and approve the governor's conduct.

4. One other case may be cited to show the dangers to which our commerce was exposed from both the leading belligerents. The American ship *Mount Vernon* (her owner was an Englishman) was captured by a French privateer, the *Flying Fish*, off the capes of Delaware; the captain and crew were put ashore on the American coast, and the vessel sent to France. Messrs. Francis Baring & Co., to whom the cargo was consigned, requested Mr. Pinckney's aid to stay the condem-

nation of the vessel through the American ambassador in Paris.

I know not whether the Mount Vernon escaped finally from the clutches of the privateer. But the vessels are certainly misnamed. The American ship should have been called the Flying Fish, for between the English and French cruisers, our commerce represented that unhappy creature between the dolphin and the birds of prey. "Britannia ruled the waves" so rigorously that American ships found no refuge there; and flying to other regions, the Gallic gulls swooped down upon them, and speedily swallowed their prey.

Besides the capture of our ships on the high seas there was another constant cause of offence. American seamen were seized on board of our own ships and those of other nations, accused of being deserters from the British navy, and imprisoned until they agreed to serve in British vessels of war, and were often forbidden to write to their homes. There are letters to Mr. Pinckney from prisons all over England, and from prison ships along her coasts, complaining of illegal imprisonment, and imploring his efforts for their release. Lord Castlereagh admitted, at a later period, "that 3500 seamen in the British navy claimed their discharge as American citizens, of whom 1700 were probably entitled to it."

For the honor of our country I trust that none of Mr. Pinckney's successors in the English mission ever had so many correspondents in Newgate, and in other unsavory places.

Take some samples of their complaints.

FALMOUTH, May 18, 1795,
On board H. M. Ship Galatea.

HONORED SIR, — I write wishing to let you know that I was taken in a French ship by the Galatea frigate, that I was forced to stay on board the Galatea, for I was not willing to enter the service. But I was obliged to, and was threatened to be sent to the East Indies if I would not enter — and so I would let you know that I am American. I would wish to have my clearance if possible, for I am in much distress. I can prove I am an American by Thomas Bell and James Isaacs, they was taken on board the same ship. I would be glad if you would let me have my clearance if possible. I have not taken any Bounty yet. We are going out soon so direct your letter to Plymouth or Portsmouth. Witness my hand.

MELZAR HATCH.

P. S. Mark Nelson and Richard Smith remain on board in like condition.

THE SANTA MARGARITA, COVE CORK,
August 9, 1795.

HONORED SIR, — I have received your letter of 26th March, wherein you inform me you will do your endeavor to procure my discharge. I entertain no doubt but you will; but the uncertainty we now lay under, and the treatment on board an English man-of-war, is so different from what we might expect as American subjects, and being at such distance from our families and uncertainty of their situation, makes us very uneasy. And

as I am a pressed man, and have received no bounty in king's service, I should think my liberty much easier to be come at. My situation in the ship is very uncomfortable. I must of course claim the privileges of a subject of United States, and you, and only you, are the friend I must apply to, being a countryman, and I hope a friend. Consider, sir, after an absence of two years and upward from a wife and five helpless children what my situation must be, and what theirs is, to lose a husband and a father, and he in service of another country against his inclination, unable to afford them any relief or comfort, — such is the situation of me, who, if your interest can get liberty that I may return to my native country, home and family, will be bound forever to pray for you.

Your humble servant

JNO. PRIDY.

There is one list of ten American seamen with their places of confinement, — “The Nore, Sher-ness, the Downs, the St. Mary's, the Royal William, and the Dublin,” — for whom he made applications to the Lords of the Admiralty for investigation of their cases. The indorsement on the paper is suggestive of a common business transaction: “Given to Mr. Johnson (the consul in London) to be applied for in the usual course of application.”

The American ambassador might have had printed copies of his letters to the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, with blanks for the prisoners' names.

Here is a specimen copy.

“Mr. Pinckney presents his compliments to Lord Grenville, and begs leave to call his attention to the case of four seamen imprisoned at Hull. They claim to be American sailors, and offer proof in support of their claim.

“Mr. Pinckney begs to call Lord Grenville’s immediate attention to the matter, and to request that he obtain an order for their release as soon as possible. With sentiments,” etc., etc.

I hope that Lord Grenville was an amiable man, for these perpetual demands for redress must have become monotonous, if not irritating.

But the ambassador never forgot the tone of courtesy which diplomacy employs, even in protesting against wrong. Nor did the English nobleman fail to respond in the same spirit, or to grant redress when it was in his power to do so.

There was a constant violation of the rights of persons and property on land, as well as on sea. Merchants and travellers were constantly arrested, searched, and often imprisoned upon frivolous pretences. A correspondent writing from Newgate, though evidently a man of culture, says:—

The court of King’s Bench has thought fit to convict me in the penalty of £500 sterling and one year’s imprisonment, for engaging a pauper weaver to accompany me to America.

Mr. Erskine, who has been good enough to visit me in prison, informs me that if I apply to government through you, I may obtain a remis-

sion of the sentence. If, therefore, you can interpose consistently with the dignity of your official station, and the honor of the United States, you will much oblige me.

Signed

P. P. MIDDLETON, M. D.

The Commissioners of Emigration in New York would no doubt rejoice if England still retained this antipathy to the exportation of paupers. Her present policy, statistics prove, is based upon the most liberal principles of free trade.

L. Gouverneur writes from Calais that at Dover his baggage and his person had been searched by the collector; that thirty odd guineas had been taken from him, and eighty from his two companions, and "that the one hundred louis d'ors you intrusted to my care, for your nephew in Paris, were also detained, as well as fifty that I had provided for my own use in France, and that he refused to give any voucher or receipt whatever."

The three travellers awaited in Calais the action of the ambassador. A prompt appeal to Lord Grenville produced a happy effect. The ambassador's property was immediately restored with an apology, and the three travellers received their trunks and money.

Nor was this the only violation of the rights of ambassadors. Mr. Monroe's trunk, which Mr. Pinckney had forwarded by a friend going to Paris, was seized at Dover, and detained until released on demand of the American minister.

Letters from the Secretary of State to Mr. Pinckney were taken from the bearer "by the

French at Morlaix, opened, and examined." The messenger was dismissed, but the despatches were retained. Anxiety to obtain a knowledge of Jay's treaty, then in negotiation, perhaps prompted this breach of the law of nations.

Where the rights of ambassadors were so little regarded, American citizens could not expect entire protection, even with their passports. In spite of this safeguard, there are frequent complaints of detention by travellers, of the opening of their letters, and seizure of their property. There was no postal communication with France, nor with a large part of Europe, and the American ambassador was at times the only medium of correspondence. Petitions to forward letters flowed in, not only from our citizens in the United States and in England, but from many foreigners, whose friends were involved in the Revolutionary cyclone.

A British nobleman implores Mr. Pinckney's aid to "obtain some information of my two sons at school in France. They are forbidden to return, and I can hold no correspondence with them." Through Mr. Monroe Mr. Pinckney had the satisfaction of relieving the distress of the anxious parents, as well as of elevating their conceptions of the value of an American minister, and of the rebels whom he represented.

When we see the habitual disregard of the rights of American citizens, by England, France, and Spain a hundred years since, as revealed by Mr. Pinckney's papers, we cannot but contrast it with our present lofty position. The war of 1812, which proved our ability to protect ourselves on

the ocean, first gave Britannia some new ideas of American rights, and vastly enlarged her respect for our citizens and our public representatives.

This sentiment was firmly planted in the European mind thirty years later, by the spirited conduct of our fellow-citizen, Commander Ingraham, in the case of Martin Kozsta.

Kozsta was a Hungarian who had fled to the United States in the Kossuth troubles, and become an American citizen. Returning after some years to Europe, he was arrested in Smyrna, carried on board an Austrian man-of-war, and put in irons. The American consul made his case known to Captain Ingraham, who at that juncture arrived in the harbor. The Captain demanded an interview with the prisoner, and satisfied himself that he was an American citizen. "Do you claim protection?" he asked. "I do," replied Kozsta. "You shall have it." Returning at once to his corvette he loaded his guns, ordered his crew to quarters, and laid his ship alongside the Austrian frigate. He demanded the delivery of the prisoner by a certain hour. "If the Austrian commander did not comply, he would open fire upon him." The French consul interposed and became responsible for Kozsta's safe keeping, until his case was adjudicated by the ambassadors of the two nations. The Austrian and American ministers at Constantinople investigated his claims, and, finding them just, ordered him to be restored to the protection of the United States.

There was a burst of popular feeling throughout our land at this spirited assertion of the rights of

an American citizen. Congress voted Captain Ingraham a sword, and his fellow-citizens in Carolina, and in other States, publicly testified their gratitude to the man who had proved to the world that the American flag could protect every citizen who was legally sheltered beneath its ample folds.

The arrest of Mason and Slidell from an English ship on the high seas perhaps gave Great Britain clearer views of neutral rights than she ever had before. She instantly demanded the restoration of the prisoners from the United States government, and was ready to avenge the insult to her flag by a declaration of war. The prompt disavowal of Commodore Wilkes' act, and the return of the Confederate envoys to the British flag, averted the threatened strife. The lesson of respect for neutral rights, which England then taught, we trust that she, and we, and all belligerents will thoroughly learn, to the great benefit of mankind.

An object of deep solicitude to Mr. Pinckney during his mission was the condition of La Fayette. A prisoner of war in an Austrian dungeon, his captivity had touched the hearts of those for whom he had sacrificed so much. In the second year of his mission, the American minister had manifested his interest in the patriot prisoner. The Vicomte de Noailles, brother-in-law of La Fayette, being compelled to flee from France had taken refuge in London on his way to the United States. He carried from Mr. Pinckney the following letter to the President:—

LONDON, March 12, 1793.

M. de Noailles, who is the bearer of this letter, requires no introduction to you. His situation and services during the late war you witnessed; and you are well acquainted with the subsequent events which placed him in his present predicament. You will find him warmly participating in the anxiety we all feel for the welfare of our friend M. de La Fayette. On this subject I have only to say that I have done whatever I thought consistent with propriety in an unauthorized, unofficial manner, to alleviate his misfortunes; and that I shall esteem myself peculiarly happy if I can be instrumental in testifying the gratitude of my country to one who has rendered her such eminent services, in any way that may be deemed expedient.

In this desire the President, the Congress, the whole American people united; yet Washington could only interpose his friendly offices in behalf of the prisoner of war. He wrote to Mr. Pinckney on February 20, 1796, from Philadelphia:—

“Since the reconfinement of M. de La Fayette (after the attempt made by Dr. Bollman and Mr. Huger, both of whom are now in this city, to effect his escape) we have heard nothing further respecting him than that his confinement is more rigorous than before. We, know, indeed that Mme. de La Fayette and his two daughters have been at Hamburg; that it was reported they were coming to America, but that instead of doing so, they went to Vienna, to try the effect of personal

solicitation to obtain his release. Newspaper accounts go farther and say they were permitted to proceed to Olmutz. But how far the latter information is to be depended upon, and, if true, what has been or will be the result, is altogether unknown to me. I need hardly mention how much my sensibility has been hurt by the treatment this gentleman has met with, or how anxious I am to see him liberated; but what course to pursue, as most likely and proper to aid the measure, is not so easy to decide on. As President of the United States there must be a commitment of the government by any interference of mine, and it is no easy matter in a transaction of this nature for a public character to assume the garb of a private citizen in a case that does not relate to himself.

“Yet such is my wish to contribute my mite to accomplish this desirable object that I have no objection to its being made known to the imperial ambassador in London, who, if he think proper, may communicate it to his court, that this event is an ardent wish of the people of the United States, to which I sincerely add mine. The time, the manner, and even the measure itself, I leave to your discretion; as circumstances and every matter which concerns this gentleman are better known on that, than they are on this, side of the Atlantic.”

The following admirable letter to the emperor of Austria was inclosed to Mr. Pinckney, to be used as he thought best to accomplish the object in view:—

PHILADELPHIA, May 15, 1796.

It will readily occur to your Majesty that occasions may sometimes exist on which official considerations would constrain the chief of a nation to be silent and passive in relation even to objects which affect his sensibility and claim his interposition as a man. Finding myself precisely in this situation at present, I take the liberty of writing this private letter to your Majesty, being persuaded that my motives will also be my apology for it.

In common with the people of this country I retain a strong and cordial sense of the services rendered to them by the Marquis de La Fayette; and my friendship for him has been constant and sincere. It is natural, therefore, that I should sympathize with him and his family in their misfortunes, and endeavor to mitigate the calamities which they experience; among which his present confinement is not the least distressing. I forbear to enlarge on this delicate subject. Permit me only to submit to your Majesty's consideration, whether his long imprisonment, the confiscation of his estates, the indigence and dispersion of his family, and the painful anxieties incident to all these circumstances, do not form an assemblage of sufferings which recommend him to the mediation of humanity? Allow me, Sir, on this occasion to be its organ; and to entreat that he may be permitted to come to this country, on such conditions and under such restrictions as your Majesty may think it expedient to prescribe.

As it is a maxim with me not to ask what under

similar circumstances I would not grant, your Majesty will do me the justice to believe that this request appears to me to correspond with those great principles of magnanimity and wisdom which form the basis of sound policy and durable glory.

May the Almighty and Merciful Sovereign of the Universe keep your Majesty under his protection and guidance.

The President also put funds into Mr. Pinckney's hands to be used for La Fayette's benefit, as far as could be done without a violation of the law of nations. From this source, as well as by his ready sympathy, he was enabled to minister materially to the comfort of Mme. de La Fayette during that dark period.

But in spite of all his efforts, backed by the power of Washington's influence, the Austrian dungeon refused to open its doors to the patriot prisoner. It was not until the strong hand of Napoleon Bonaparte knocked loudly at that door that the Austrian emperor heard the call of Europe and America, and set his captive free.

Another object which engrossed a large share of the time and interest of the American minister was the case of the French refugees. During the period of his official residence, London was thronged with fugitives from the reign of terror in France. The American embassy was the polar star to these storm-tossed mariners, stranded on a foreign shore. They looked to the representative of the United States for sympathy, for advice, for protection, for occupation, for support. Did

not the American Republic owe its very existence to France? and was not the American minister bound to repay to these children of France some portion of the debt which his country had incurred? They evidently regarded him as a species of electric battery, so highly charged with national gratitude that the slightest touch would elicit an immediate response.

Their letters were many, and cover all conceivable subjects. Some are amusing, some touching, some cringing, and some insolent in their demands. Some contain requests for employment, for transportation to the United States, for a return to France, for the education of their children, for the purchase of a new pontoon bridge, which would certainly assure fortune to him and glory to his country.

One enthusiastic admirer of the western republic asks him to name a little refugee, who had come into the world at a very unpropitious season, and "would Monsieur L'Ambassadeur do them the honor to stand Godfather for the child?"

However much the letters differ in tone, the writers agree in the self-evident position that they were entitled to support from the minister of the United States until their restoration to their own land. Though very liberal with his purse, the ambassador could not possibly meet their demands. He organized the American residents in London as a committee of relief, and befriended them in every way. But many, I apprehend, never forgave a refusal of their requests, and indulged in bitter reflections on the ingratitude of republics.

Count Lally Tollendal, the friend of La Fayette, was a frequent correspondent and not a petitioner. The Princess D'Henin, another racy correspondent, represented the political intrigante, ready, with the aid of the American ambassador, to regulate Europe and the world.

For three years the British cabinet evaded the urgency of our minister to obtain a satisfactory solution of the grave questions at issue between the two nations. They pleaded in bar of his demands the refusal, by our government, to do justice to the treaty claims of British subjects. Meanwhile fresh fuel was added to the slumbering fire, which threatened speedily to rekindle the flames of war. The orders in council, of the king of England (1794) though aimed primarily at France, trampled on all neutral rights, and fired the public mind. Congress at once prepared for war, and the latent hostility to England burst out afresh.

There was one barrier to the swelling tide of popular fury; the sagacious man, who sat calm and collected at the helm. To avert the calamities of war (of which he had seen enough), and to preserve peace for the infant republic until its arm grew strong, — this was his obvious policy. Washington determined to make one more effort at negotiation, and sent John Jay upon a special mission to close, if possible, these irritating questions between us.

This envoy negotiated the treaty known as "Jay's treaty with Great Britain," a measure which excited a fiercer political strife than any

other "which had agitated the nation since the Revolution." Many of the Federalists even regarded it as a tame surrender to British arrogance. Mr. Jay's readiness to yield the question of compensation for stolen slaves, though a treaty stipulation, probably accelerated the object of his mission.¹

Mr. Jay's mission was not intended to supersede the resident minister, or interfere with his diplomatic functions. In the message nominating Mr. Jay, the President says, "My confidence in our minister plenipotentiary in London continues undiminished. But a mission like this, while it corresponds with the solemnity of the occasion, will announce to the world a solicitude for a friendly adjustment of our complaints, and a reluctance to hostility."

Mr. Pinckney felt that this special mission impaired greatly the value of his own. His views are freely expressed in a letter to his brother.

"As to Mr. Jay's mission, if I should say that I had no unpleasant feelings on the occasion, I should not be sincere; but the sincerity with which I make this declaration will, I trust, entitle me to credit when I add, that I am convinced of the expediency of adopting any honorable measure which may tend to avert the calamities of war, or, by its failure, cement our union at home; that I consider Mr. Jay's appointment, from the solemnity of the mission, supported by his estab-

¹ Twenty-five thousand, our historians calculate, were carried off from South Carolina, many of whom were sold in the West Indies.

lished reputation, diplomatic experience, and general talents, as the most probable method of effecting this purpose; and that I am sensible of the delicacy respecting myself with which this measure has been carried into execution. Under these impressions it is scarcely necessary for me to say that I will cheerfully aid the objects of Mr. Jay's mission, and render his residence here agreeable. I ought to add that Mr. Randolph's letter to me and Mr. Jay's instructions are very friendly, and calculated to prevent my feelings from being wounded by the measure."

Mr. Pinckney redeemed the pledge of generous support to his distinguished colleague, while Mr. Jay scrupulously avoided encroaching on the ordinary functions of the embassy, and referred all matters touching the same to Mr. Pinckney's decision.

THE SPANISH MISSION. 1795.

The Spanish mission here intervenes between the third and fourth year of Mr. Pinckney's residence at the Court of St. James.

Although the President had publicly and privately guarded his diplomatic position at that court, he wished to show by deeds, as well as words, that "his confidence in him was undiminished."

During Mr. Jay's special mission, Washington invited Mr. Pinckney to undertake an important embassy to Madrid, not as an abandonment of his English mission, but as an interlude to it. Mr. Randolph's letter intimates the President's purpose.

PHILADELPHIA, November 3, 1794.

DEAR SIR, — Mr. Bayard, who sails on Thursday, as an agent for those who have suffered from British depredation, will be charged with both private and public despatches from me to you. I drop you this line to prepare you for a mission which the President has prepared for you as envoy extraordinary to Madrid. I beg you immediately on the receipt of this to make any arrangements which may seem expedient before you quit London. The business relates to the Mississippi; will be temporary; and under present circumstances probably not dilatory. You will necessarily conclude; that your return to London upon your former footing will be a thing of course.

I have the honor to be, dear sir, with sincere esteem and true respect,

Your most obedient servant,

EDMUND RANDOLPH.

MR. PINCKNEY.

It is scarcely possible for us to realize the importance attached to a Spanish mission a hundred years since. Spain has sunk so much in the scale of nations that her policy and her good will seem to be of little importance. But a century ago, she exercised a controlling power over our national prosperity. Her possessions bounded ours on the south and on the west, and debarred all territorial development. They touched our southern border from the Florida coast to Texas, and cut us off from the Gulf and from the world. St. Augustine,

Mobile, New Orleans, were all Spanish cities. Spain controlled the mouth of the Mississippi River, and denied our right to navigate that inland sea. She checked all emigration to the west by her claims along a thousand miles of that stream, even to the Missouri; for Louisiana extended with its undefined and elastic borders as far north as Spanish arrogance chose to stretch them.

As Great Britain still retained possession of the northwestern posts, and thereby controlled the savages on the Ohio and the upper Mississippi; and as Spanish emissaries in like manner controlled the tribes along its lower banks, our frontier settlements were liable at any hour to the horrors of Indian warfare. These Spanish claims were among the most embarrassing questions which the government had to face, and which "caused Washington peculiar solicitude" at the very outset of his administration. For six years he had endeavored in vain to adjust these claims. The Continental Congress had sent Mr. Jay as minister to Madrid to negotiate a treaty with Spain, but his best efforts for two years proved unavailing. Mr. Carmichael and Mr. Short had been employed successively on the same mission, but with no better success. Yet the necessity of some arrangement became more urgent.

"Spain by a similar conduct to that of Great Britain [Washington writes, September, 1794] has imposed the necessity of sending an envoy extraordinary to her. They coöperate; cordial in their hatred, they have agreed to employ the Indians

against us;” and in a letter to Monroe in February, 1795, he says, “The conduct of Spain towards us is unaccountable and injurious. Mr. Pinckney, it is supposed, is gone thither. He is to seize any favorable moment to execute what has been intrusted to him concerning the Mississippi.”

Another motive for a speedy settlement of our difficulties with Spain was the conduct of the insolent French envoy, Genet. Soon after he had landed in Charleston, before delivering his credentials to the President, he set on foot an expedition against Florida and commissioned some of our citizens to enlist troops for that service. He also sent emissaries to Kentucky to organize an expedition against New Orleans. Governor Moultrie issued a proclamation against such a violation of the law of nations, which speedily checked enlistments in South Carolina.

But the whole affair showed the dangers to which we were exposed. Had this reckless foreigner put one company in motion against her territories, it would have justified Spain in turning the Indians loose upon us, and the war-cries of the Creeks and the Cherokees, of the Chickasaws and Seminoles, would have spread terror along the borders of the Carolinas, Georgia, and Tennessee.

These considerations led Washington to make another attempt at negotiation, and to select an agent qualified to conduct it successfully. The two last envoys had not been acceptable personally to the Spanish court. They had wounded the national sentiment and offended Castilian pride.

Washington had been privately informed by the agent of Spain that it was "his Majesty's expectation that he would appoint a minister of such character, eminent distinction, and approved temper, as became a residence near the royal person, and was required by the gravity of the questions under consideration." Such an ambassador "he felt assured would be cordially received." "The Spaniards demanded that our country be represented by a gentleman, and Washington sent them Thomas Pinckney."

There was something in the political horizon which favored the object of his mission. The attitude of France towards her European neighbors possibly revealed to the Spaniards the wisdom of conciliating the Western republic. Mr. Pinckney was cordially received, and entered at once on his negotiation. The king of Spain intrusted his interests to his favorite minister, the array of whose titles fills the first page of the treaty.

"The Most Excellent Lord Don Manuel de Godoi, y Alvarez de Faria Rios Sanchez Sarzosa, Prince de la Paz, Duke of Alcúdia, Lord of the Soto di Roma, and of the State of Albala, Grandee of Spain of the First Class, Perpetual Regidor of the city of Santiago, Knight of the Illustrious Order of the Golden Fleece, Grand Cross of the Royal and distinguished Spanish Order of Charles III., Commander of Valencia del Ventoso and Santiago, Knight of the Grand Cross of the Order of St. John, Councillor of State, First Secretary of State, Secretary to our Lady

the Queen, Superintendent General of the Ports and Highways and of the Posts and Rents of the *Estafettes* of Spain, president of the Royal Board of Appeals, Protector of the Royal Academy of Noble Arts, and of the Royal Societies of Natural History, Botany, Chemistry and Astronomy, Gentleman of the Chamber, Captain, General of the Royal Troops, Inspector and Major of the Royal Corps of *Gardes de Corps*," etc., etc., etc.

To confront this formidable array Washington could only invest the American envoy with the simple title, —

"Thomas Pinckney,
Citizen of the United States."

If the American ambassador had not been somewhat accustomed to lofty titles during his long residence in England, he must have quailed before this gorgeous personage: but he seems to have held his ground like a Roman. Although the prince does not enjoy a high character in European history, Mr. Pinckney's papers give a more favorable view of him than I have seen elsewhere. He testifies thus: "On the whole, the prince dealt fairly with me;" and the negotiation proceeded satisfactorily until they came to the navigation of the Mississippi, and the right of deposit at New Orleans for American produce. "No settlement would be admitted by Spain, except an absolute relinquishment of the right of navigation of the Mississippi." This had been the position of the government in all former attempts at negotiation.

But Spain now ceded the point, and granted to the United States the use of the river through all her territory.

But the consequent privilege of a port of entry and deposit for American produce at New Orleans, or some other point, was strongly resisted. To grant to strangers the right to use territory consecrated by Spanish possession, and to put them on the same footing with subjects of his Catholic Majesty, was contrary to all tradition, and deeply touched the pride of the nation. "The only words of warmth which have ever passed between the Prince de la Paz and myself [says Mr. Pinckney's notes on the treaty] were on the subject of this article, XXI."

The next requisition of establishing a commission to adjudicate the claims of American citizens against the Spanish government seemed equally objectionable. But the ambassador insisted on a full and final settlement of these claims as essential to a treaty of amity. A long list of captured vessels, and confiscated cargoes, and imprisoned seamen, had awaited his arrival in Spain. If the catalogue was not quite as full as that which he had been studying for the last three years, it was still long enough to keep him in practice against his return to England. The Spanish minister interposed earnest objections to this article, for it touched the interests of Spain as deeply as the former touched her pride, and though her arrogance was high, her exchequer was often very low.

Believing that the government would not yield these two points, and that it would pursue its

usual dilatory policy to avoid the payment of these just claims, Mr. Pinckney terminated the negotiation, and asked for his passports. But a happier influence prevailed in the Spanish Court, and he was invited to resume the negotiation. The disputed points were conceded, the remaining articles quickly arranged, and the treaty of San Lorenzo was signed by the two plenipotentiaries on the third day thereafter, and subsequently received the assent of the king of Spain.

Possibly this happy result was due to the fact that the two negotiators dealt directly with each other, without the aid of an interpreter. Mr. Pinckney read Spanish and understood it when spoken, though not able to speak it with facility. The Prince de la Paz could comprehend what was said in French, but could not express himself fluently in that tongue. He therefore used his native language, while the American envoy used French in his replies, and in the conduct of his negotiation.

The treaty progressed with a celerity unusual in Spanish history.

Mr. Pinckney had reached Madrid late in June, 1795, and in spite of the migration of the court from Madrid to some cooler summer resorts, the treaty was completed and signed on the 27th of October by the two plenipotentiaries in behalf of the contracting powers. This treaty is sometimes termed the treaty of "San Ildefonso," sometimes that of "San Lorenzo," from the royal palaces where it was negotiated. Mr. Pinckney describes it by the last title. The copy sent to the United

States "was immediately laid before the Senate, and the ratification of it [as Washington wrote him] was advised and consented to by a unanimous vote of that body. Hence you may form some opinion of the general approbation of your negotiation."

It is surprising now to read of the enthusiastic reception of this treaty, and of the vast importance attached to it in the public mind. The successful negotiation was hailed with a burst of applause which established the reputation of the negotiator as a skilful diplomatist, and very nearly seated him in the vice-president's chair. The acquisitions thereby secured were regarded by Washington as of sufficient importance to be made a topic of public gratulation in his farewell address, and their value, real and prospective, justified the general estimate.

The five points settled by the treaty were: —

1st. The establishment of the southern limits of the United States from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, by a well defined line between them and Florida.

2d. The establishment of the western boundary by the Mississippi River, and the extinction of Spanish claims to all territory on its eastern bank north of thirty-one degrees, the limits of Louisiana.

3d. It secured the free navigation of that long-coveted river, and opened an outlet to the Gulf, and to the markets of the world. The western pioneer thus obtained an unmolested right of way for a thousand miles down that majestic stream, and

4th. By the privilege of a port of entry at New Orleans, he secured a safe deposit for American produce, and for importations from all European nations.

5th. Another article of the treaty established a court in which American claims against the Spaniards might be adjudicated and enforced, and justice, though long delayed, be done to our injured citizens.

6th. This treaty of "friendship, limits, and navigation" required each contracting party to restrain the Indians within their territories from any aggression upon their neighbors, and thus provided for the peace of our homes against this insidious foe.

All these were real, and at that day invaluable, concessions to America on the part of the ancient and haughty monarchy.

The subsequent purchase of Louisiana by Mr. Jefferson secured control of the lower Mississippi, extinguished the Spanish claim to that territory, and impaired the value of the previous treaty. Nevertheless, that treaty marked one positive advance in the line of continental expansion. The Anglo-Saxon instinct for territorial development was stimulated, not stayed, by the Spanish concessions. From the banks of the Mississippi the hardy pioneer cast his eye upon the prairie, rolling like the ocean in the distant horizon, and felt as strong an impulse to embark thereon as that which drove Columbus to explore the unknown sea. In spite of treaties, or of the Spanish posts at New Madrid, and Gayoso, and St.

Charles, he pushed his way westward, unconsciously bearing the star of empire in his hand. The republic awoke to a higher perception of its providential mission, and soon, tearing away the remaining barriers to the west, converted poetic fancy into historic fact.

“No pent-up Utica contracts our powers,
But the whole boundless continent is ours.”

So little is known of this treaty and of its effect upon the public sentiment of the times, that I have endeavored to elucidate its historical bearing. Mr. Pinckney's friends regarded it as the most valuable service he could have rendered to his country. Mr. Lodge takes a similar view, as appears from the following extract : —

“Washington's policy about the Mississippi never wavered. He meant to have the great river, for his ideas of the empire of the future were quite as extended as those of the pioneers, and much more definite.

“A year after he came to the presidency he wrote to La Fayette : ‘ Gradually recovering from the distresses in which the war left us, wanting scarcely anything but the free navigation of the Mississippi, which we must have, and as certainly shall have, if we remain a nation,’ etc.

“Carmichael, who had been minister at Madrid under the confederation, had been continued there by the new government. But while the intrigues of Spain to detach Kentucky and the interference of Spanish officials went on, our negotiation for the settlement of our rights to the navigation of the Mississippi halted. Tired of this inaction,

Washington late in 1791 united William Short, our minister to Holland, in a commission with Carmichael, to open a fresh and special negotiation as to the Mississippi. The joint commission bore no fruit, and the troubles in the West increased. It was clearly necessary to take more vigorous measures.

“Accordingly, in 1794, after Genet had been dismissed, Washington sent Thomas Pinckney, who for some years had been minister in London, on a special treaty-making mission to Madrid. The first results were vexatious and unpromising enough, and Pinckney wrote at the outset that he had had two interviews with the Duke de Alcudia, but to no purpose. It was the old game of delay, he said, with inquiries as to why he had not replied to propositions, which in fact had never been made. Even what Pinckney wrote could not be wholly made out, for some passages were in a cipher to which the State Department had no key. Washington wrote to Pickering, then acting Secretary of State, ‘A kind of fatality seems to have pursued this negotiation, and in short all our concerns with Spain, from the appointment of Mr. Carmichael to the present day. . . . Enough, however, appears to show the temper and policy of the Spanish court, and its undignified conduct as it respects themselves, and insulting as it relates to us, and I fear it will prove that the late treaty with France portends nothing favorable to these United States.’ Washington’s patience had been sorely tried by the delays and shiftty evasions of Spain, but he was now on the brink of

success, just as he concluded that negotiation was hopeless.

“He had made a good choice in Thomas Pinckney, better even than he knew. Triumphant over all obstacles with persistence, boldness, and good management, Pinckney made a treaty, and brought it home with him. Still more remarkable was the fact that it was an extremely good treaty and conceded all we asked. By it the Florida boundary was settled, and the free navigation of the Mississippi was obtained.

“We also gained the right to a place of deposit at New Orleans, a pledge to leave the Indians alone, a commercial agreement modeled on that with France, and a board of arbitration to settle American claims. All this Pinckney obtained, not as the representative of a great and powerful state, but as the envoy of a new nation, distant, unknown, disliked, and embroiled in various complications with other powers. Our history can show very few diplomatic achievements to be compared with this, for it was brilliant in execution, and complete and valuable in result. Yet it has passed into history almost unnoticed, and both the treaty and its maker have been singularly and most unjustly neglected. Even the accurate and painstaking Hildreth omits the date and circumstances of Pinckney’s appointment, while the last elaborate history of the United States scarcely alludes to the matter, and finds no place in its index for the name of the author. It was in fact one of the best pieces of work done during Washington’s administration, and perfected its policy

on a most difficult and essential point. It is high time that justice were done to the gallant soldier and accomplished diplomatist who conducted the negotiation, and rendered such a solid service to his country. Thomas Pinckney, who really did something, who did work worth doing and without many words, has been forgotten, while many of his contemporaries, who simply made a noise, are freshly remembered in the pages of history."¹

CLOSE OF THE ENGLISH MISSION. 1796.

Upon the successful termination of his special mission, Mr. Pinckney took leave of the Spanish court, and returned to England by the way of Paris. On his journey to Spain he had left his daughters at the celebrated school of Madame Campan, in that city, and he now stopped in Paris to pay them a brief visit.

Returning to London he resumed his diplomatic relations at the court of St. James. During his absence, the secretary of legation, William Allen Deas, had discharged the ordinary duties of the mission, referring to Mr. Pinckney all such matters as required his personal attention. Meanwhile Mr. Jay's treaty had been completed, sent to the United States, acted on by our government, and returned to London to be ratified by Great Britain.

The two treaties negotiated by Thomas Pinckney and John Jay present some singular coincidences, and some very marked contrasts.

The Spanish treaty is dated in Mr. Pinckney's

¹ Lodge's *Life of Washington*, vol. ii. p. 162.

hand, San Lorenzo, October 27, 1795; on another copy, signed also by the two plenipotentiaries, October 28, 1795.

On the same day, October 28, the ratifications of Jay's treaty, which had received the consent of the Senate and the signature of the President, were exchanged in London.

The two treaties were coincident in time, but differ widely in all other respects. One, the Spanish, secured every right for which the United States had hitherto striven in vain. The other, the English, yielded almost every point for which our government had long contended.

One was hailed with acclamation by all parties in our country, and received the unanimous consent of the Senate and the hearty indorsement of the President. The other called forth a storm of indignation from north to south. In many cities copies of the treaty were burnt by the public hangman, and its author burnt in effigy by the mob; and in the Senate it passed by a bare majority after long and angry debates.

One elevated our character in the eyes of Europe, and gave us a higher position in the family of nations. The other wounded the self-respect of the American people, and lowered our standing before the world.

Yet Jay's treaty received the signature of Washington, and our publicists generally justify its acceptance, in spite of all that it surrendered to Britain's imperious demands.

Mr. Jay, like the merchantman in the parable, was seeking goodly pearls. Peace was the pearl

of great price which he sought, and he went and sold all that he had, and bought it; and history has justified the sacrifice.

There is no stronger illustration of Washington's influence over his countrymen than their acceptance of this treaty upon the strength of his signature. "You will see by the proceedings of Congress [Jefferson writes sneeringly to Monroe] that one man outweighs them all in influence over the people, who have supported his judgment against their own and that of their representatives."

In reviewing this latter period of the English mission, we note the marked development of our country in the interval between 1794 and 1894.

Although nearly twenty years had elapsed since our Declaration of Independence, we were still, in 1794, dependent colonies, commercially, of the mother country. The following letters show that we could neither cast anchors of large size, nor purchase them in England for our navy, without special permission from the British government.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, December 30, 1794.

SIR, — It has been determined to import from Europe as soon as possible twenty anchors for the use of the six frigates for which provision was made by the last session of Congress.

I have been induced, therefore, to take the liberty of asking your care of the business, and that you will without delay cause the number of anchors required to be procured and shipped, agreeably to the memorandum transmitted herewith.

If direct conveyances should not immediately offer for the several ports in the United States designated in the memorandum, I would advise the shipping of them in four divisions. There being a material difference in the size of the anchors, it will be necessary, in order to avoid confusion, that there be separate bills of lading for each parcel, with the names of the respective places to which they are destined marked thereon.

The treasurer's draft for three hundred and three thousand guilders on our commissioners in Amsterdam, remitted to you on the 1st inst., will form the fund out of which you are to pay for them. I only add that it will be necessary to insure the amount of the invoice, so as to secure the United States against any loss.

With the most perfect respect and truest esteem, I have the honor to be, sir,

Your obedient servant,

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

THOS. PINCKNEY, Esq., Minister Plenipotentiary
at the Court of London.

The following letter shows the steps required to obtain copper for sheathing these vessels.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, August 11, 1794.

Mr. Pinckney presents his compliments to Lord Grenville, and has the honor of informing him that he has received directions to purchase in Europe copper for the sheathing of the frigates which are now arming in the United States for the purpose of opposing the depredations of the

Algerines, and that he is desired to give the preference to the markets of this country, if no impediment should exist to this article being obtained from hence. Mr. Pinckney therefore requests the favor of Lord Grenville to inform him whether this article will be permitted to be exported from Great Britain to the United States for this purpose.

The answer to this letter will be found in the following order in council:—

AT THE COUNCIL CHAMBER, WHITEHALL,
March 28, 1795.

By the Lords of his Majesty's most Honorable Privy Council.

Read. Letter from Hon. Lord Grenville to the Lord President, inclosing copy of a note from Mr. Pinckney, Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States of America, informing his lordship that he has lately received directions for purchasing in this kingdom the anchors, kitchens, and bunting necessary for the six frigates fitting out in the United States, the sheathing for which was shipped some time ago; and requesting to be informed whether permission can be obtained for exporting the above-mentioned articles, if purchased in this country.

Lord Grenville to be acquainted "that the lords of the council will have no objection to permit the exportation of the anchors, etc., for the six frigates when applied for by Mr. Pinckney, upon condition that the exporter do enter into bond with two

sureties, being known British merchants, or other persons of credit resident in this kingdom, that the said anchors, etc., shall be carried to some port in the United States; and to procure a certificate of the due landing the same at the port for which cleared."

Before the copper could be shipped, the ambassador's certificate was required.

I hereby certify that the copper specified in the foregoing memorial is for the use and service of the United States of America as therein set forth.

Given under my hand.

THOMAS PINCKNEY,
Minister Plenipotentiary, U. S. A.

From this statement it is very evident that the iron ores of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Alabama had not then been utilized, nor had our American foundries begun their great works; and though a hundred years had elapsed since the Jesuits had discovered the copper beds of Lake Superior, we had still to go to European mines for enough of that metal to cover our national vessels.

Another commission which the ambassador was requested to execute relates to peace and harmony, not to war; but it illustrates our dependence even in the realm of music upon the mother country.

The secretary of the St. Cecilia society (still a flourishing institution in Charleston) thus writes:

CHARLESTON, April 19, 1792.

SIR, — In pursuance of a resolution of the St. Cecilia society, I beg leave to inclose you one hundred pounds sterling in bill of exchange on London, in your favor, and I am directed to request your excellency to purchase for their use a grand pianoforte, with twenty pounds' worth of the best modern music for a concert, and to have the same shipped from London by the first vessel.

With every sentiment of respect,

EDWARD PENMAN.

His Excellency, THOS. PINCKNEY.

The members of the St. Cecilia society would have been much surprised to learn that within a century from that time, the United States would manufacture more pianos in proportion to their population than any other nation in the world.

Among Mr. Pinckney's papers I find one which seems hardly credible in this generation. It is an official circular letter addressed to American consuls in England and on the continent, informing them that "an Algerine fleet, numbering fourteen sail in all, had passed through the Straits of Gibraltar, sailing west, and directing them to warn all American ships of the danger of leaving port, or prosecuting any voyage to the southward."

Among the curiosities of European history there is nothing more strange than the pusillanimous conduct of powerful states towards these Barbary corsairs. To pay an annual tribute, in order to purchase exemption for their commerce from these piratical attacks, was humiliating enough. But

to pay additional tribute to these corsairs, to redeem the captive prisoners from the dungeons of Algiers and Tripoli, or from brutal slavery, was a deeper degradation, to which Christian nations tamely submitted for a long series of years.

It is the glory of the young Republic of the West to be first in resisting these robber claims, and in breaking these atrocious bonds. She taught the nations of Europe to pay the tribute, not with precious metals, but with iron balls.

Mr. Pinckney's letters also show his views upon a question which has excited the interest of diplomatic circles, namely, the subject of court costume. His wife died in 1794 in London. He writes to inquire of the court chamberlain if his presence at the royal levees would be expected while he was in mourning, or whether his attendance would be excused during that period.

That he conformed to the custom prescribed for state occasions in matters of costume is evident at this day; for the court suits which he wore, both in England and in Spain, are in existence still, and sometimes appear on special occasions. He did not feel that republican principles were involved in the color of his coat, but adapted his costume to the style considered most respectful to the court to which he was accredited.

After serving nearly four years in the diplomatic line, Mr. Pinckney requested his recall. He based his request upon both private and public considerations. The situation of his family and the state of his domestic concerns required his return. "Four years was as long a period as

he had ever contemplated devoting to public service, nor did he think it most for the interest of the United States that the same person should continue in mission for a longer period, except under very peculiar circumstances." His letter closes thus: —

"I have sincerely felt for the unpleasant situation in which late events have placed you as our chief magistrate, and it would give me infinite concern to think that I had in any degree contributed to these embarrassments. I can only say that I have in every case acted according to my best judgment, and in what concerns yourself by the dictates of the sincerest friendship and grateful respect."

Washington replies: —

PHILADELPHIA, February 29, 1796.

DEAR SIR, — Your letter of 10th October from Madrid has been received. With regret I read the request which it contained; but the footing on which you have placed the matter forbids opposition, or even persuasion on my part, that you should recede from it, although the task of supplying your place to my satisfaction, to the satisfaction of your country, or of the court you will leave, will not be found easy.

That the conduct of his mission had been satisfactory to the President is very evident from the following fact. During his absence in Spain, Washington had inquired confidentially of Mr. Jay whether, upon the conclusion of his treaty,

he would accept the position of resident minister in London, "in order that Mr. Pinckney, by that means, might be sent to France."

Mr. Jay preferred to resume his office of chief justice, and Washington made other arrangements to fill the French mission. But the fact remains to Thomas Pinckney's credit, that Washington selected him for the three most important diplomatic positions in Europe, each requiring peculiar wisdom, temper, and tact, namely, the mission to the aristocratic and still unreconciled court of Great Britain, to the punctilious and dilatory court of Spain, and to that restless, aggressive, volcanic body politic, the French republic.

Soon after receiving his letters of recall he left England, and in September, 1796, returned to America. He had the satisfaction of feeling that the public sentiment at his departure from England differed widely from that which he had encountered on his arrival four years before. Many expressions of warm regard both from Whigs and Tories assured him that his dignified course during his mission had borne abundant fruit, and raised greatly the public estimation of his country.

Washington added his welcome in the following friendly letter:—

MT. VERNON, May 28, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR, — Let me congratulate you on your safe return to your native country and friends, after the important services you have rendered to the former, and to thank you, as I most cordially

do, for the favorable sentiments which you have been pleased to express for me, and of my public conduct. The approbation which you have given of the latter, be assured, is highly pleasing to me. To receive testimonies of this kind from the good and virtuous, more especially from those who are competent to judge, and have had the means of judging from the best sources of information, stamps a value on them which renders them peculiarly grateful to one's sensibility. With sincere and affectionate regard,

I am, dear sir, yours, etc.,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

With this testimony from "one so competent to judge, and who had all the means of judging," we close this chapter of Thomas Pinckney's public life.

MISSION OF GENERAL C. C. PINCKNEY. 1797.

Before entering on the next step in Mr. Pinckney's public service, we pause to note a contemporaneous event in the life of his elder brother. Their lives were singularly intertwined, not only in bonds of fraternal affection, and personal tastes, but in patriotic duties. In their educational, professional, military, civil, and political career, their history runs on strictly parallel lines. It is true also of their diplomatic service. As one brother laid down the rôle of minister plenipotentiary to England, the other took up the same character as envoy to the French republic. While Thomas Pinckney was on his homeward voyage,

his elder brother was on his way to France. They crossed each other on the ocean.

General C. C. Pinckney had been selected by Washington to undertake a more trying mission than that from which Thomas Pinckney had just returned. He had to bear the brunt of revolutionary insolence, intoxicated with the unwonted sweets of political power, and to resist the arrogant claims of the French Directory.

There is a strong contrast in the result of the missions of the two brothers, attributable to the force of the political currents which they each encountered, and to the different temperaments of the two nations.

Thomas Pinckney was sent to a country nominally friendly, but actually hostile still to the United States. But the phlegmatic English listened to the voice of peace, speaking in friendly tones. In four years he succeeded in so thawing the ice which at first surrounded him that he left London with abundant evidence of the good will of court and people.

The elder brother was sent to the strongest ally that the United States ever had in Europe, but a country still agitated by political frenzy. Smarting under the sting of Continental hostility, the mercurial French insulted their best friend because our country adopted a neutral policy. The Directory refused to receive General Pinckney or any other ambassador from the United States, "until they had obtained redress for the grievances of which they complained." The ratification of Jay's treaty by our government had irritated

them exceedingly, and the recall of Mr. Monroe because of his avowed sympathy with the revolutionary spirit of the age did not tend to soothe their wounded vanity. As General Pinckney was known to be in entire accord with Washington, and with the neutral policy which he had adopted, the Directory treated him with marked coldness, refused to receive his credentials, and finally ordered him to leave the territory of the republic. He retired to Holland, and reported the insult to his government. There was deep indignation aroused when the conduct of the Directory was reported at Philadelphia, and many were eager to avenge the insult.

But John Adams, who had now succeeded to the presidential chair, determined to make one more effort at conciliation. He appointed John Marshall and Elbridge Gerry to unite with General Pinckney in a commission, "with authority to settle all existing difficulties" with our ancient ally.

But the effort failed utterly. Talleyrand maintained his insolent tone, and the Directory refused to recognize either General Pinckney or Mr. Marshall in their official character. They promptly terminated their mission, and left France. Mr. Gerry unwisely remained to become the dupe of Talleyrand. This outrage upon our ambassadors so excited their countrymen that Congress at once prepared for hostilities, raised an army, and were ready for a declaration of war. But the overthrow of the Directory, and the accession of Napoleon to power, restored reason to France, and averted the contest.

It was during this mission that General Pinckney, irritated by the shameless efforts of the Directory to extort a bribe as the price of peace, gave way to his indignation in that burst of patriotic sentiment, "Millions for defence, but not a cent for tribute."

This bold utterance, which has been ever since associated with his name, was eagerly seized upon by his fellow-citizens, and became the war-cry of those who were resolved to maintain the rights of our country against all aggressions, alike from England or from France. No words uttered by any other statesman have ever struck a deeper chord in the popular heart, or been more generally accepted as a national sentiment.

POLITICAL. 1797-1800.

NOMINATION FOR VICE-PRESIDENT.

THOMAS PINCKNEY had meanwhile returned to South Carolina, receiving not only the warm commendation of Washington (a commodity in which he dealt sparingly), but the cordial approval of his countrymen. His fellow-citizens in Charleston united with the President in a hearty welcome to the public servant. "They met him at the city limits on his arrival, took the horses from his carriage, and dragged it with plaudits to his residence."¹

He had so attracted the eye of the nation that he was selected by his countrymen as the Federal candidate for Vice-President, on the ticket with John Adams.

Rufus King (afterwards his successor at the court of St. James), writing to Alexander Hamilton, 1796, says, "Mr. Pinckney has asked leave to return home. To his former stock of popularity, he will now add the good will of those who have been so gratified with the Spanish treaty. Should we concur in him, will he not receive as great, or greater, Southern and Western support than any other man?"

Hamilton replies: "I am entirely of opinion that Patrick Henry declining, Mr. Pinckney ought

¹ Garden's *Anecdotes of Revolution*.

to be our man. On later reflection I rather wish to be rid of Henry, that we may be at full liberty to take up Pinckney."

Hamilton's biographer sums up the questions thus: "After the conclusion of the treaty with Spain, Thomas Pinckney returned to London. In the difficult situation in which he had been placed, his conduct was marked with all the firmness, discretion, and just sensibility to the injuries of his nation, with the independence and disinterestedness, to have been expected in one whose patriotism had hazarded a large estate, and who had lived in arms for his country."

There was one feature of this election worthy of note in its historical and its constitutional relations. In the original mode of electing the chief executive officers, the candidate who received the highest number of votes became President, the second on the list Vice-President.

Mr. Adams' name of course stood first on the Federal ticket. His acknowledged talents and great public services naturally assigned him the position. But his egotistical temper and his lack of administrative ability created grave doubts as to his fitness for the presidency. Some of the Federalists suggested dropping a few electoral votes for Adams, while they united their full strength on the junior candidate, thus bringing in Thomas Pinckney as President, and John Adams as Vice-President. This result Alexander Hamilton confesses "would not be disagreeable to me. If chance should decide in favor of Mr. Pinckney it probably would not be a misfortune, since he,

to every essential qualification for the office, added a temper far more discreet and conciliatory than that of Mr. Adams."

When this suggestion became known to Mr. Adams, it greatly excited his ire (as his letters abundantly testify), and so earnestly did his friends bestir themselves to prevent this result, that they made a fatal blunder for their party. In order to insure Mr. Adams' election, the Federalists withheld a dozen votes from the second name on their ticket, and thus not only made Mr. Adams President, but, in spite of their antipathy, made Thomas Jefferson Vice-President instead of Thomas Pinckney. The votes stood: Adams seventy-one, Jefferson sixty-eight, Pinckney fifty-nine, Burr thirty.

Thus the heads of the two rival parties were elected to the two highest places in the nation, and if the Federal leader had possessed either political or prophetic insight, he might have seen in the occupant of the Vice-President's chair "the mounting Bolingbroke, who should ascend his throne."

In a review by Alexander Hamilton of the political events of this year, he thus speaks of Mr. Pinckney: "It was evidently of much consequence to endeavor to have an eminent Federalist Vice-President. Thomas Pinckney of South Carolina was selected for this purpose. This gentleman, too little known in the North, had been all his life distinguished in the South for the mildness and amiableness of his manners, the rectitude and purity of his morals, and the soundness and correctness of his understanding, accompanied

by an habitual discretion and self-command which has often occasioned a parallel to be drawn between him and the venerated Washington. In addition to this recommendation he had, during a critical period, been our minister at the court of London, and recently envoy extraordinary to the court of Spain; and in both these trusts, he had acquitted himself to the satisfaction of all parties. With the court of Spain he had effected a treaty which removed all the thorny subjects of contention that had so long threatened the peace of the two countries, and stipulated for the United States on the southern frontier and on the Mississippi, advantages of real magnitude and importance."

Mr. Adams so justified the apprehensions of his friends that a similar effort to drop him was made in the subsequent election of 1800.

John Adams and General C. C. Pinckney were the Federal candidates. Alexander Hamilton exerted himself to get rid of Mr. Adams, and to place General Pinckney in the presidential chair. Failing in this effort, he advised his friends to withhold as many votes from Mr. Adams as would insure to General Pinckney the first place on the ticket. "It is known among us that the legislature of South Carolina virtually seconded Hamilton's scheme. They proposed to cast their votes for Jefferson and Pinckney, or for Pinckney and Jefferson, in the conviction that it would secure his election as President or Vice-President."¹ But General Pinckney's rejection of both propositions as unjust to Mr. Adams, and inconsistent

¹ Garden's Eulogy on General C. C. Pinckney.

with his own sense of propriety, prevented the success of the plan. His generosity, lofty as it was, failed to sustain his colleague. Mr. Adams' unpopularity not only ruined himself and his friends, but buried his party beneath the political waves for sixty years, if not forever.

"The canvass of 1801 was warm and animated, and resulted in the election of Mr. Jefferson to the presidency. In that decision South Carolina acted a conspicuous part. She gave the deciding vote, and never was a vote given under circumstances of greater self-denial.

"Among the rivals of Mr. Jefferson was the most venerated of her own sons, — one in whose talents, integrity, and wisdom was reposed such high trust that party considerations were abandoned to give place to it. Of the two votes then required to be indiscriminately given, one was sacred to Jefferson, the other was tendered to General Pinckney. Had he accepted it, he had been President. But it pleased Him who directs human events to his own purposes that it should be otherwise; and on the 4th March, 1801, Thomas Jefferson entered on the presidency."¹

Alexander Garden, in his Eulogy on General C. C. Pinckney, 1825, says, "It is a fact well understood that at the struggle of parties relative to the nomination of President in 1800, General Pinckney, by consenting to unite his name with that of Mr. Jefferson, would have secured to himself the unanimous vote of the electors of South Carolina as Vice-President. But consistently with his

¹ Judge Johnson's Eulogy on Thomas Jefferson, 1826, p. 22.

decided principles, such association could not be entered into with justice to Mr. Adams, and the scheme of union was dropped."

Chancellor De Saussure (a member of the committee sent by the members of the legislature to confer with General Pinckney) confirms Judge Johnson's view. The committee asked his consent to the plan of casting the vote of the State for Jefferson and Pinckney, which would have secured him the vice-presidency. In justice to Mr. Adams, with whom his name had been associated with his own consent, General Pinckney gratefully but firmly declined. At a second conference the committee offered to place his name first, and cast the vote of the State for Pinckney and Jefferson. In the judgment of his friends, this arrangement would in all probability have secured him the presidency, certainly the vice-presidency.

This statement will be found in De Saussure's Eulogy on General C. C. Pinckney. His objections to the proposed union of his name with Mr. Jefferson's were more fully given to the writer by Judge De Saussure.

After listening with his habitual courtesy to the views of the committee, General Pinckney replied that he must decline giving his consent to their proposal. He had undoubtedly received votes in the Eastern States because his name was associated with that of Mr. Adams on the Federal ticket. To accept the benefit of such union in one part of the country, and then consent to the combination of his name with Mr. Jefferson's, in order to gain votes in the South, was a measure

to which he could not resort. It would be unjust to Mr. Adams, and inconsistent with his own sense of propriety. If he should ever be called to fill either of the high offices suggested, it must be, not from his own motion, but from the spontaneous suffrages of his fellow-citizens.

If his friends could vote for him as a Federalist, he would gladly receive their support. But if they could not, he advised them to be guided by their political convictions.

A vote should express one's views of public policy, rather than personal consideration. However grateful the appreciation of his friends might be, — and he valued it as highly as he should the presidency, — he must positively decline the proposal.

From his refusal the scheme of union was abandoned, and the vote of the State was cast for Jefferson and Burr.

Mr. Adams, writing to General Gadsden in relation to this matter, says: "I have been well informed of the frank, candid, and honorable conduct of General Pinckney at your state election, which was conformable to the whole tenor of his actions through life, as far as they have come to my knowledge."

Though Thomas Pinckney was selected as the Federal candidate for Vice-President in 1796, and his brother was the Federal candidate for Vice-President or President at three successive elections, neither ever reached the high offices for which they were nominated. The political current of the age was already turning from the Fed-

eral to the Democratic shores with a force which soon swept all public powers and offices in that direction, with few exceptions, for sixty years; and the practical working of the Constitution for that period strengthened the Democratic and depressed the Federal party.

THE TENCH COXE LETTER.

The two Pinckneys were thus made involuntary instruments in the effort to relieve the party of the leadership of Mr. Adams. There was some retributive justice in this political scheme. In a letter to Tench Coxe, written some years before, in 1792, Mr. Adams had given vent to some petty jealousy of the two brothers. As this letter gave occasion to Mr. Pinckney's political opponents to question his integrity, we quote that part of it which bears upon the subject before us. .

. . . I should have been happy to have seen Mr. Pinckney before his departure, but more from individual curiosity than from any opinion that I could have given him any information of importance to him. If he has the talent of searching hearts, he will not long be at a loss; if he has not, no information of mine can give it him.

The Duke of Leeds once inquired of me very kindly after his classmates at Westminster school, the two Mr. Pinckneys, which induces me to conclude that our new ambassador has many powerful old friends in England. Whether this is a recommendation of him for the office or not, I have other reasons to believe that his family have

had their eyes fixed on the embassy to St. James for many years, even before I was sent there; and that they contributed to limit the duration of my commission to three years, in order to make way for themselves to succeed me. I wish they may find as much honor and pleasure in it as they expected, and that the public may derive from it dignity and utility. But knowing as I do the long intrigue, and suspecting as I do much British influence in the appointment, were I in any executive department I should take the liberty to keep a vigilant eye upon them. J. A.

This letter was apparently confidential, and not intended for publication. But Coxe, being removed from office by Mr. Adams, became a decided enemy, and used the letter for electioneering purposes. He made it known to the editor of a bitter anti-Federal paper, who employed it effectively just on the eve of the presidential election of 1800, when John Adams and General C. C. Pinckney were the candidates of the Federal party.

On reading this communication Mr. Pinckney addressed to Mr. Adams the following dignified appeal:—

TO HIS EXCELLENCY JOHN ADAMS, PRESIDENT
OF THE UNITED STATES:—

CHARLESTON, September 16, 1800.

SIR,—I have the honor of transmitting herewith a “Charleston Gazette,” containing a letter copied from a newspaper of Baltimore to which

your signature is subscribed. Conscious as I am that I never either directly or indirectly, by myself or by my friends, have been concerned in any British intrigue, or connected with British influence; knowing that my nomination to the English mission was not only unsolicited, but was unknown to myself and my immediate friends, until announced to me officially by Mr. Jefferson, then Secretary of State; believing as I do that no improper influence preponderated in the mind of the officer by whom I was nominated, I take the liberty of making this appeal to your justice, requesting, if the letter which has been published as yours be a forgery, that an immediate and explicit declaration of this fact may be promulgated; but if the contrary should be the case, I equally rely upon your justice to explain how far you consider my brother and myself to have been justly obnoxious to the suspicions which you appear to have entertained at the time the letter was written, together with the basis of such suspicion. While a due regard to our best property, reputation, impels me to urge this claim on your justice, I entreat you, sir, to consider me not intentionally deviating from a due respect for your private virtues, or derogating from the consideration to which in your official capacity you are justly entitled.

I have the honor to be, sir, your respectful and obedient servant,

THOMAS PINCKNEY.

To the publishers of the "Charleston Gazette" he also addressed the following open letter:—

MOULTRIEVILLE, September 15, 1800.

MESSRS. FRENEAU AND PAINE, Charleston, S. C.

A letter copied from a newspaper of Baltimore having been inserted in your "Gazette" of Saturday last, signed John Adams, and purporting from its contents to have been written to Mr. Tench Coxe of Philadelphia, in the year 1792, wherein are contained some comments on my appointment as minister plenipotentiary to the court of Great Britain, I think it right at present only to state that this letter either is a forgery calculated for electioneering purposes, or if genuine must have been founded upon a misapprehension of persons. This last suggestion I infer from facts alluded to in the letter, and from the subsequent nomination of my brother, General Pinckney, to two highly confidential offices by its supposed writer.

To my fellow-citizens of South Carolina who have so often honored me by testimonies of their confidence, I should deem it unnecessary to urge a syllable of justification from such charges as are implicated in this production, however authenticated; but as it appears from the time of its publication to be calculated for more extensive influence, I have deemed it of importance publicly to state what is above, that those persons who may be unacquainted with the characters concerned may be guarded against giving credit, either to the authenticity or justice of this performance,

until the event of an investigation, which I will immediately commence, shall be made public.

THOMAS PINCKNEY.

“Peter Porcupine,”¹ the public censor of political morals in America, thus revels in the correspondence:—

“This letter must have been written, one would think, in a fit of insanity. How could a man like Thomas Pinckney be so very foolish as to write and publish a letter like this! He *knew* that the letter was *not* a forgery; he knew that it was authentic; he knew that its authenticity had been acknowledged by Mr. Adams in his presence, and he further knew that all these facts were well known to Jefferson and Duane. No sooner, therefore, did this letter of Thomas Pinckney reach Philadelphia, than Duane published a narrative of the explanation and agreement that took place between Messrs. Pinckney and Adams last winter. This involved Pinckney in fresh difficulties. The *authenticity* of the letter was now proved; and Thomas Pinckney was compelled to call on Adams for a recantation, or submit to the charge of having been the willing tool of a foreign court. He, as might well be expected, chose the former. He wrote to Adams, whom, it appears, he not only required to recant, but also to *publish his recantation*, which the latter actually did in the following letter, which we have taken from the ‘New York Gazette’ of the 29th of October last:”

¹ His real name was William Cobbet, the able pamphleteer, then living in Philadelphia.

PHILADELPHIA, October 27, 1800.

DEAR SIR, — It was only on yesterday that I received the letter you did me the honor to write me, on the 16th of September. For the friendly and respectful style in which it was written, I pray you to accept of my hearty thanks, and you shall receive in my answer all the satisfaction in my power to give you.

Of the letter which is published in my name, I have no copy nor any particular recollection. In general, I remember that when Mr. Coxe was assistant to the Secretary of the Treasury he was very assiduous in his attentions to me, made me many visits at my own house, and many invitations to his own, when I was at the seat of government, and wrote me many letters when I was absent from it. I also have an indistinct idea of his writing me a letter before your embarkation for Europe, expressing a great anxiety that an interview should take place between you and me before you should depart, and an opinion that it would be in my power to communicate some useful information and advice, relative to the subject of your mission. As I knew of nothing that could make it necessary for you to take a journey to Quincy, or for me to go to Philadelphia, it is probable that I wrote him something like the letter that is published. This, however, has been manifestly either so carelessly copied or so unfaithfully printed that I must refer to the original letter, which, if it is in my handwriting, may be easily known.

It may not be easy for me to give you a clear idea of the situation I was in when that letter was

written. In order to accomplish this necessary purpose as well as I can, it must be observed that in May, 1792, *it was my misfortune to be wholly unacquainted with all the gentlemen who bear the name of Pinckney*; I had never seen one of them in my life, as I can recollect, and knew not that there were more than two. When I heard of your appointment, *I recollected the conversation with the Marquis of Carmarthen, now Duke of Leeds, and imagined it probable that his Lordship might have intimated directly or indirectly, to some one near the President, that one of the Mr. Pinckneys would be agreeable at court. I never had an idea of any other influence than that which is very common in Europe, when one government causes intimations to be given to another that the appointment of some particular gentleman would be agreeable. And I now fully believe that my suspicion of even that kind of influence was wholly unfounded in reality, though it had then some color in appearance.* The other insinuation concerning the Pinckney family had no other foundation than this: When I received my commission to the court of St. James, I observed in it a limitation to three years. As I did not recollect any example of this before, I was at a loss for the reason of it; but as I did not intend at that time to remain in Europe even so long a time as three years, I thought very little of it, until afterwards, on my arrival in London in 1785, I received information without inquiry that Mr. Pinckney, a member of Congress from South Carolina, had said that, —

“The limitation to three years had been inserted in my commission for the purpose of getting rid of me; that the mission to London was too good a thing for me; and that the intention was, as soon as I could be removed, to send a Mr. Pinckney of South Carolina in my room.” When I heard of Mr. Pinckney’s appointment, this London information came into my mind and diverted me, because I supposed Mr. Pinckney, after eight years, had carried his point, and occasioned the sentiments expressed in the letter, which, from the sportive, playful, and careless air of it throughout, must be easily perceived to have been confidential. It may be easily ascertained who was the Mr. Pinckney who was a member of Congress in 1784 or 1785, when my commission was granted and dated, and when the limitation to three years was inserted.

On this occasion it is but justice and duty in me to declare that I have not at this time the smallest reason to believe or suspect that you or your brother ever solicited any appointment under the government, abroad or at home, and that the whole conduct of both, as far as it has come to my knowledge (and I have had considerable opportunities to know the conduct of both since 1792), has shown minds candid, able, and independent, wholly free from any kind of influence from Britain, and from any improper bias in favor of that country or any other; and that both have rendered with honor and dignity to themselves great and important services to our country. And I will add in the sincerity of my heart that

I know of no two gentlemen whose characters and conduct are more deserving of confidence.

I can conclude with observing that we are fallen on evil times, on evil times indeed are we fallen, if every conversation is immediately to be betrayed and misrepresented in newspapers, and if every frivolous and confidential letter is to be dragged by the hand of treachery from its oblivion of eight years, and published by malice and revenge for the purpose of making mischief.

I am, sir, with great truth and regard,

Your humble servant,

JOHN ADAMS.

To the Hon. THOMAS PINCKNEY, Esq.,
Charleston, South Carolina.

As your letter has been so long on the way to me, I shall publish this answer immediately; which I hope you will excuse.

Alexander Hamilton's comment will express the feeling of most of his countrymen on this unfortunate letter. He says, "It is impossible to speak of this transaction in terms suitable to its nature, without losing sight of the fact that Mr. Adams is now President of the United States."

But our purpose is not to cast stones at Mr. Adams, but to defend Thomas Pinckney against the insinuations of Peter Porcupine, who condenses and repeats the assaults of the "Aurora," charging Mr. Pinckney with duplicity for electioneering purposes.

"How could a man like Thomas Pinckney be

so very foolish as to write such a letter as this?" he asks.

Because Mr. Pinckney knew that he was speaking the truth, and he had sufficient confidence in the truth to know that it could defend itself, and sustain those who trusted in it.

If he did not speak the truth, his letter was a foolish one, as it put a dangerous weapon into the hands of Mr. Adams; for by acknowledging its authenticity, and charging Mr. Pinckney with knowledge of its contents, he could have convicted him of such dishonesty as to compel him to share the odium of the transaction.

The imaginary interview between the two Pinckneys and Mr. Adams must have originated in the fertile brain of the editor of the "*Aurora*." It is quite inconsistent with the direct statements of all parties concerned, and with the dates of the correspondence, for on the day following that on which Mr. Pinckney had addressed the letter to the Charleston paper, he wrote to Mr. Adams, not "after his open letter reached Philadelphia," not in consequence of what Duane, or any other man, had said or done, but in the interest of truth, he wrote to the President.

If any such interview ever occurred, it was probably to inquire into rumors which might easily obtain circulation respecting some charge of Mr. Adams upon the two Pinckneys.

If Thomas Pinckney possessed truth, honesty, or courage, and he was never suspected of lacking either, he had never seen the letter until he read it in the "*Charleston Gazette*."

The editor of the "Aurora" asserts that he had three copies made while the unpublished letter was still in his possession.

"The editor having when in England experienced attention from Mr. Thomas Pinckney, he conceived it to be an act of justice to make him acquainted with the contents of the letter. He accordingly prepared three copies thereof, one of which he delivered to Mr. Charles Pinckney (the cousin), accompanied with the wish that he would show it to Mr. Pinckney. The second copy was given to another member of the Senate; and the third was inclosed in a blank cover and sent to Mr. Pinckney's lodgings."

It is evident that this last copy was not seen by Thomas Pinckney, nor did he see the copy intrusted to Charles Pinckney until after the publication of this correspondence, and upon his request for an explanation from Charles Pinckney.¹

MEETING STREET, November 10, 1800.

DEAR SIR, — In compliance with your request I am to inform you that soon after my arrival in Philadelphia, hearing of Mr. Adams' letter, and that he alluded to me in it, I applied to Duane to get me a copy of it, which he did; and upon my asking him after reading it whether I might show

¹ The antipathy of the Federalists to the *Aurora* was such that many forbade its admission into their houses. "That rascal Freneau sent his paper to him every day with the insolent design of insulting him," — so Washington said — or rather, is reported by Jefferson to have said. If Thomas Pinckney shared the same feeling, that may suggest a reason why anything coming from the editor of the *Aurora* failed to reach him.

it to you, he replied "Yes, that he wished I would," or words to that effect. But upon reflection afterward, I thought, as you had been in Philadelphia for two years before, it was more than probable you must have seen the letter long before I did, and that as the subject was not an agreeable one, you would consider it as rather officious in me, or dislike its being mentioned. Therefore from motives of delicacy I did not show it to you. This is the state of the facts as clearly as I can recollect.

I am with regard and affectionate respect,

Your most obedient servant,

CHARLES PINCKNEY.

To the Honorable MAJOR PINCKNEY.

There is another point in this correspondence which needs explanation in order to correct the singular misapprehension of Mr. Adams. He attributes the limitation of his mission to England to an intrigue of the Pinckneys to secure that honor for themselves. He says, in his letter to Tench Coxe, "I have reasons to believe that his family have had their eyes fixed upon the embassy to St. James for many years, even before I was sent there; and that they contributed to limit the duration of my commission to three years, in order to make way for themselves to succeed me." This intrigue, Alexander Hamilton remarks, was a long-sighted calculation in a government like ours. The transaction may be explained in his words: "The resolution of Congress by which Mr. Adams' commission was limited was a general one, apply-

ing to the commissions of all ministers to foreign courts. When it was proposed and adopted, it is certain that neither of the two Pinckneys was a member of Congress; it is believed that they were both in Charleston, more than eight hundred miles from the seat of government. But they had, it seems, a cousin, Mr. Charles Pinckney, who was in Congress, and this cousin it was who supported the restrictive resolution which was seconded by Mr. Howell, a member from Rhode Island, the very person who nominated Mr. Adams as minister to Great Britain, and was voted for by the four Eastern States, with New York, New Jersey, Maryland, and South Carolina. To make this out to be a machination of the two Pinckneys many things must be affirmed: first, that their cousin Charles Pinckney was always subservient to their views (though entirely opposed to them in politics); second, that this cunning wight has been able to draw the four Eastern States into his plot, as well as New York, New Jersey, Maryland, and South Carolina; third, that the Pinckneys could foresee at a distance of three years a state of things which would enable them to reap the fruit of their contrivance."

"It is peculiarly unlucky for Mr. Adams in this affair that he was known to have desired at the time the appointment which was given to Mr. Pinckney. The President declined the measure, thinking that it was compatible neither with the spirit of the Constitution, nor with the dignity of the government, to designate the Vice-President for such a station."

“Mr. Adams’ capacity for misapprehending harmless things is also illustrated in his letter to Tench Coxe. A polite inquiry addressed by a British nobleman as to the health of his former classmate at Westminster is distorted into a matter of political intrigue and British influence. ‘This contaminating communication with the Duke of Leeds,’ required, in Mr. Adams’ judgment, that a strict eye be kept upon the Pinckneys lest their subserviency to British influence should warp them from allegiance to their country.”

As the charge of duplicity was never before, nor ever after, laid at Mr. Pinckney’s door, I have devoted more space to this matter than otherwise it deserved. Nevertheless, we must append a letter of Washington, expressing his astonishment at the insinuations against himself, as well as against Mr. Pinckney. It was written, as the date shows, near the end of his life.

Private.

TO JAMES MCHENRY, SECRETARY OF WAR.

MT. VERNON, November 17, 1799.

MY DEAR SIR, — Your confidential and interesting letter of the 10th inst. came duly and safely to hand; with the contents of which I have been stricken dumb; and I believe it is better that I should remain mute, than express any sentiment on the important matters which are related therein.

I have for some time past viewed the political concerns of the United States with an anxious and

painful eye. They appear to me to be moving by hasty strides to a crisis; but in what it will result, that Being who sees, foresees, and directs all things alone can tell.

The charge of British influence in the appointment of Major Pinckney to be minister at the court of London is a perfect enigma. My curiosity leads me to inquire on what ground it is built, and you would oblige me by giving an explanation. Was it the measure or the man that gave rise to this insinuation?

The first it cannot be, because an exchange of ministers had long been invited, and sought after, and the tardiness of Great Britain in not meeting the advances of the United States in this respect was considered and complained of as an indignity. Could it be the man? Could he who had fought against that country, and bled in defence of his own in the conflict, a man of acknowledged abilities and irreproachable character, be suspected of undue influence? If neither, I ask again on what is the accusation founded?

The whole is a mystery to me. Merely to satisfy my curiosity I wish to have it unriddled, and not because I shall think myself bound to answer any interrogatories which may be dictated by insidious impertinence. With the greatest esteem, I am, etc., etc.

Bancroft's sketch of John Adams¹ will appropriately close this subject.

"His overweening self-esteem was his chief

¹ Vol. viii. p. 309.

blemish. . . . He was capable of thinking himself the centre of any circle, of which he had been only the tangent. His vanity was in such excess that in manhood it sometimes confused his judgment, and in age bewildered his memory. But the stain did not reach beyond the surface; it impaired the lustre, not the integrity of his character. He could not look with complacency on those who excelled him, and regarded another's bearing away the palm as a wrong to himself; he never sat placidly under the shade of a greater reputation than his own, and could try to jostle aside the presumptuous possessor of recognized superiority. . . . He loved homage, and it made him blind; to those who flattered him he gave his confidence freely and often unwisely, and while he watched the general movement of affairs with comprehensive sagacity, he was never a calm observer of individual men. He was of choleric temperament, and could break out into uncontrollable rage, and with all his acquisitions, never learned to rule his own spirit; but his anger did not so much drive him to do wrong, as to do right ungraciously."

So Bancroft paints him after the lapse of a century, when the calm light of history had rested on his stalwart figure. Brave, patriotic, and impulsive, he looms up grandly in the Revolutionary era. But as peace prevailed in the land, his prestige gradually declined. "If I have one talent," said John Adams of himself, "it is for making war." We can pardon many of his faults for this honest and manly estimate of his own powers.

CONGRESSIONAL.

Though earnestly wishing to devote himself to domestic duties, Mr. Pinckney was called upon by his fellow-citizens to represent them in Congress. A vacancy had just occurred by the appointment of Mr. William Smith, the representative from Charleston, as minister to Lisbon. Thomas Pinckney was nominated and elected without opposition to fill the post. Instead, therefore, of presiding in the Senate, as his friends had hoped, he became a member of the House of Representatives, and took his seat on the 23d of November, 1797, in the second session of the Fifth Congress.

He gave his support as a Federalist to Mr. Adams' administration. Like so many Revolutionary patriots who had known the misery of a feeble rule, he shared with Washington the apprehension that the government as then constituted would prove too feeble, rather than too strong. He therefore sought to strengthen the central authority, not as antagonistic to, but in harmony with, the sovereign rights of the States. As a firm supporter of the Constitution, and a consistent Federalist, he had signed this declaration of rights, set forth by the same convention of the State of South Carolina which had, with tumultuous approval, just adopted the Federal Constitution.

This convention doth declare that no section or paragraph of the said Constitution warrants a

construction that the States do not retain every power, not expressly relinquished by them, and vested in the general government of the Union.

THOMAS PINCKNEY,
President of the Convention.

One of the first measures in which he took an active part related to the claims of Kosciusko. Mr. Pinckney had had the pleasure, during his English embassy, of forwarding to that illustrious fellow-soldier part of the funds voted him by the government. There was a balance of \$12,000 still due, and Mr. Pinckney exerted himself successfully to get a bill through the House, and through a committee of conference with the Senate, to secure the prompt payment of the debt, — a debt of honor, as he regarded it, to the patriot soldier, apparently still a homeless wanderer in Europe.

The aggressions of France became more offensive during Mr. Pinckney's congressional term. He constantly voted with those who would boldly maintain the rights of our country. It must have been a new sensation to Thomas Pinckney to maintain against France that defensive attitude which he had been so long compelled to assume against the arrogance of England.

The question of the reception of parting presents by our ministers was settled by the action of Mr. Pinckney soon after he took his seat in Congress. As he was the first ambassador to England under the Constitution, he had no precedent to guide him in the matter. The following letter

was addressed by him to the speaker and laid before the House:—

“The speaker said he had received a letter this morning, signed Thomas Pinckney, which he desired to lay before the House. It was accordingly read. It stated that when he (Mr. Pinckney) had concluded the late treaty with the Spanish government, the Spanish minister, the Prince of Peace, informed him that the presents usually given in such cases would be prepared for him; and that also when he took leave of the British court, the like information was given to him by the minister there. To both of which he replied that the Constitution of the United States forbade its ministers from receiving any presents from any foreign prince or state, without the consent of Congress; that in due time he would ask that consent, and act accordingly. This letter asks for the determination of Congress.

“On motion of Mr. Rutledge referred to a special committee.”

There was much discussion of the subject, as the decision of the case would establish a precedent for future ambassadors. Some recalled the fact that Dr. Franklin, Mr. Jefferson, and Mr. Laurens had received the customary presents on their departure from the courts in which they had been employed. One member thought that Mr. Pinckney might decide the question without consulting Congress, as he was not now an officer of the government, and the restrictions of the Constitution did not apply to him; that he had the right to do so, “though the exercise of the right might not consist with the delicacy of his character.”

Others thought the practice objectionable. That if we permitted our ambassadors to receive presents, it would entail upon us the obligation of reciprocating to the representatives of foreign courts. The expense of providing a gold snuff-box, or some decorative jewel for every ambassador, offended the sentiments of the retrenching party. And though the Senate gave permission for their reception, the House refused. But it was expressly declared to be solely from motives of general policy, and not from any views personal to Mr. Pinckney.

Thus the refusal of presents from foreign powers became the settled policy of the Republic, — the safer conclusion for the public service.

Another question which arose during his second term was that of volunteer ambassadors. Dr. Logan, a Quaker of Philadelphia, was so excited by the preparations for war against France that he undertook in his private capacity to arrest it. After Mr. Gerry (who had unwisely remained after his colleagues had left France) had at length returned, the acknowledged dupe of Talleyrand, Mr. Adams declared that he would send no other ambassador. Dr. Logan immediately went to Paris to confer with the Directory. He assured them that there was a strong counter-current in America against war with France, and requested them to await further developments. The danger of permitting private persons to represent the views of a nation, led Congress to legislate on the subject in order to discourage unauthorized agents from assuming the rôle of public ambassadors.

One historian of the period says of this question, "Thomas Pinckney, with his experience of the English and Spanish missions under Washington's administration, gave the weight of his high standing for wisdom and moderation, in a speech in favor of the measure."

The following extracts from some of his letters will throw light upon the service of members of Congress at that period:—

HALIFAX, November 6, 1797.

I have not a word of intelligence to convey to you, my dear Harriott; but Fanny and I are both so full of gratitude to you for the loan of your oil-skin lined with baize, that we cannot lie down upon it, as we are now about to do, without offering you our best thanks for it. You have travelled the road we have just passed through, and can appreciate the comfort it affords.

We have just received a visit from General Davie; he is a sensible, agreeable man and an old fellow-soldier. I wish we had met him before we came to this tavern and that his wife had not been occupied with a sick child, as I think we should not have been in such a dirty place. But clean or dirty we must sleep, so with our united love to your household, I remain,

Your truly affectionate brother,

THOMAS PINCKNEY.

This letter is dated Halifax, November 6, 1797. As Halifax was four or five days' journey from Charleston by the old route, he must have

left home on the 1st or 2d of November. He took his seat on the 23d of that month, so that at that day it required twenty-two days for a gentleman in his carriage to reach Philadelphia.

Our Representatives to-day could go to New York, sail for England, spend a week in London, and return to Philadelphia in the time Mr. Pinckney took to go by land, besides avoiding the dirty taverns on the way.

The next letter, dated January 17, 1798, describes his life in Philadelphia.

“Here we are, my dear sister, as when I wrote last. We had no inconvenience on our journey but the bad fare which we expected, and a little cold weather which overtook us at Mount Vernon, and accompanied us to this city. You are acquainted with the routine of Philadelphia boarding-houses. Mr. Rutledge and family, General Green, Mr. Hunter of South Carolina, and a widow lady with a piercing eye, constitute our household.

“The scene is diversified to me with attendance on Congress and committees in the morning, and occasionally with plays and assemblies, public and private, in the evening; besides which we dine out very often. But we have no proper means of returning these invitations, which renders them less agreeable than they would otherwise be.

“We have not received a line, public or private, from my brother or either of the other commissioners. The expectations of all of us are on the rack, and the fears of some not a little excited; and meanwhile in Congress we do nothing.”

The following letter shows that our present legislators have greatly the advantage over their predecessors in one respect. The spacious halls of Congress now admit of perfect ventilation, although some members may still seem liable to attacks of giddiness.

PHILADELPHIA, March 4, 1798.

. . . I had retired for a few days to Kingston, a village within three miles of Princeton in Jersey, with the hope of recovering my shattered health, when your favor of the 4th of February reached me. The disorder with which I have been affected was such, as you will say, ought not to have prevailed in a person of my age, namely, a giddiness or vertigo in the head. I believe it proceeded from want of exercise and close attendance in the hall of Congress, — a room without ventilators, more than sufficiently heated by fire, to which is superadded the oppressive atmosphere contaminated by the breathing and perspiration of a crowded audience. But whatever was the cause, the effect was, as I mentioned above, a giddiness, which, coming on gradually, increased to such a degree as to deprive me of sight and the power of walking. I endured a variety of these attacks, and what was worse, the remedies to remove them, so that I was reduced lower than I have been since my broken leg; in short, I made my will in haste, and ran out of Philadelphia as fast as I could, and I thank God that the change of air and scene has so far restored me that I have had no return of my complaint for the last

eight days; writing during this period was both painful and dangerous, or I would have informed you sooner of my situation.

I am sorry to hear of the ill success of the planting of Tippietlaw and Charleywood, especially as from the letters I now inclose to you from my brother, it appears that he expects to return to Carolina in the spring of the present year.

I have placed Tom [his eldest son] much to my satisfaction at Princeton. I had a letter from him yesterday; he is well and seems very much pleased with his situation.

Your truly affectionate brother,

THOMAS PINCKNEY.

His second term in Congress expired on the 4th of March, 1801, when he retired from public service, to which he had devoted seven of the best years of his life. Four he had spent in the English and the Spanish missions, and three were passed in the halls of Congress.

"It is little known, but worthy to be recorded, that during our negotiation with France in 1798, when the despatches of our envoys, Generals Pinckney and Marshall and Mr. E. Gerry, reached the United States, detailing the hostility of the Directory and the humiliating proposition of tribute, President Adams, apprehending that their immediate publication might occasion further indignities to be offered to those gentlemen, still remaining in Paris, wished to withhold them for a time from public view.

“When Major Pinckney was consulted, he gave a decided opinion that they ought immediately to be made public, that the people might obtain a perfect knowledge of the insulting conduct of the French Directory. ‘And, sir,’ he feelingly added, ‘if the situation of my brother causes you to hesitate, I speak for him as I know he would for me, were I similarly circumstanced. The glory of our country is at stake; individual sufferings must not be regarded; be the event what it may, life is nothing compared with the honor of America.’ ”¹

¹ Garden’s *Eulogy of General C. C. Pinckney*, p. 23.

THE WAR OF 1812.

MAJOR - GENERAL COMMANDING SOUTHERN DIVISION OF THE UNITED STATES. 1812-1815.

AFTER the close of his term in Congress, Mr. Pinckney abandoned public life, for which he had little taste. His love of agriculture was very strong. His estates were large and valuable, and he determined to devote himself to their cultivation. For twelve years he led the life of a Carolina planter, and hoped to spend the residue of his days in that congenial employment.

But the time for retirement from public duties had not yet come. The war of 1812 broke up all his plans, and his country's call compelled him again to take the field.

The old causes of complaint against Great Britain, for which Mr. Pinckney had in vain sought redress fifteen years before, were still in existence. The outrages upon our commerce and upon our seamen continued still unredressed, and Congress, under the lead of Clay, Calhoun, Lowndes, and Felix Grundy, declared war against our former enemy. Mr. Dallas has given an elaborate statement of the causes which led to this second war of independence, a summary of which we here insert, sometimes giving substance rather than language:—

“These causes embraced habitual violation of

our neutral rights; the seizure of American ships upon the high seas, and the confiscation of their cargoes upon frivolous pretexts; the impressment of American seamen into the British navy; and the injury to our commerce by the paper blockades, established by her, as a means of harassing her formidable foe, the French emperor, — that Great Britain, in fact, had never treated with respect the rights of the United States as an independent nation, from the close of the Revolution to the present time.

“The treaty of 1783 between the two nations had never been faithfully executed; the American posts upon the northern frontier had been forcibly retained by Great Britain, in violation of the stipulations of that treaty; and, slighting every overture to place the diplomatic and commercial relations of the two countries upon a fair and friendly foundation, she seemed to contemplate the success of the American Revolution with unextinguishable animosity. Her voice had been heard from Quebec to Montreal instigating the savages to war. Her invisible arm was felt in the defeat of General Harmer and of General St. Clair; and even the victory of General Wayne was achieved in the presence of a fort which she had erected, far within the territorial boundaries of the United States, to stimulate and countenance the barbarities of the Indian warrior.

“Yet the American government, not yielding to popular resentment, had solemnly announced, abroad and at home, her policy of neutrality between Great Britain and France, in spite of our

sympathy with and obligations to the latter nation.

“But the injuries of which we complained upon the land were very small in comparison with those which Great Britain inflicted upon us on the sea, which element her powerful navy dominated so arrogantly.

“The war upon our commerce under the British orders in council of 1793 had, with the short respite of the treaty of Amiens in 1802, been continuous. The commerce of the United States continued to be the prey of British cruisers and privateers, under the adjudicating patronage of the British tribunals. The merchant vessels of the United States were arrested on the high seas, while in prosecution of distant voyages; numbers of their crews were impressed into the naval service of Great Britain; the commercial adventures of their owners were often, consequently, defeated; and the loss of property, the embarrassments of trade and navigation, and the scenes of domestic affliction became intolerable. This grievance (which constitutes an important surviving cause of the American declaration of war) was early and incessantly urged upon the attention of the British government. They were told even in the year 1792 of the irritation that it had excited, and of the difficulty of avoiding to make immediate reprisals upon the seamen in the United States. It was clearly presented to the British ministry that the grievance, if unredressed, would lead to war; and unless they would come to some accommodation which might insure American seamen against

this oppression, measures would be taken to make the inconvenience to be equally felt on both sides. They were told that the subject was of greater importance than they supposed. Instead of a few, and those equivocal cases, the American minister at the court of London had in nine months (part of the years 1796 and 1797) made application for the discharge of two hundred and seventy seamen who had in most cases exhibited such evidence as to satisfy him that they were Americans, forced into the British service, and persevering generally in refusing pay and bounty. In spite of the efforts of our government, time seemed to render it more difficult to ascertain and fix the standard of British rights, according to their successive claims. These claims, extending with singular elasticity, were soon found to include the right to enter American vessels on the high seas, in order to search for and seize all British seamen. They next embraced the case of every British subject; and finally in their practical enforcement they were extended to every mariner who had no proof, upon the spot, that he was a citizen of the United States. While the American government freely admitted the rights of the belligerents with reference to articles contraband of war, and to deserters from their own navy, it denied the abuse of those rights by the practice of the English with reference to American citizens. The injustice of the British claim and the cruelty of the British practice have tested for a series of years the pride and patience of the American government. But Great Britain has seen in the expressions of

the leaders of the American government the consequent injuries to her maritime policy. She perceives, perhaps, the loss of the American nursery for her seamen, while she is at peace; the loss of the service of the American crews, while she is at war; and the loss of many of those opportunities which have impelled her to enrich her navy by the spoils of American commerce, without exposing her own commerce to the risk of retaliation and of reprisals. The treaty of Amiens which seemed to terminate the war in Europe, seemed also to terminate the sufferings of America. But the hope of repose was delusive and transient. The hostilities which were renewed between Great Britain and France in 1803, were immediately followed by a renewal of the aggressions of the belligerent powers upon the commercial rights of the United States. The lives, the liberty, the fortunes, the happiness of the citizens engaged in navigation and commerce, were once more subjected to the violence and cupidity of the British cruisers. So intolerable had the afflictions of the nation become that the people with one mind and voice called loudly upon their government for redress and protection. The Congress of the United States, participating in the resentment of the times, urged upon the executive the necessity of an immediate demand of reparation from Great Britain; while the same patriotic spirit which had opposed British usurpation in 1793, and encountered French hostilities in 1798, was again pledged in every variety of form now to maintain her national honor.

British ships of war hovered upon our coast, and blockaded the ports of the United States so that no vessel could enter or depart in safety; penetrated the bays and rivers, and often anchored in our harbors to exercise the jurisdiction of impressment; and threatened towns and villages with conflagration. The neutrality of American territory was violated on every occasion, and at last the American government was doomed to suffer the greatest indignity which could be offered to a sovereign state, in the memorable attack of a British fifty-gun ship, in the waters of the United States, upon the frigate *Chesapeake* while prosecuting a peaceful voyage. She had at this time impressed from the crews of American merchant vessels, peaceably navigating the high seas, not less than six thousand mariners, who claimed to be citizens of the United States, and who were denied the opportunity of vindicating their claims. She had joined with France to declare the greater portion of the terraqueous globe in a state of blockade, chasing the American merchant flag effectually from the ocean."

The watchword by which the nation was stimulated to the contest was "Free Trade and Sailors' Rights." Congress caused an army to be raised, divided the country into six military districts, and authorized the President to appoint two major-generals and six brigadiers to take command. Mr. Madison nominated General Dearborn as senior major-general, to command the northern half of the United States, and Thomas Pinckney as junior major-general, to take charge

of the southern half. His command extended from the southern borders of Virginia to the Mississippi, embracing North and South Carolina, and Georgia, and the Indian Territory, which now forms the States of Alabama, Mississippi, and a part of Louisiana.

This appointment was entirely unexpected to Major Pinckney. He did not belong to the party which supported the President; and his brother had been the candidate of the Federalists in opposition to Mr. Madison. His first impulse was to decline the appointment. The higher offices in the army, as well as in the State, he thought should be in the hands of those who were in full sympathy with the administration, which had declared the war, and upon whom the responsibility of conducting it must rest. But when he learned that the appointment was intended as an act of conciliation on the part of the President towards the Federalists, and that his acceptance would show that patriotism was stronger than party, he no longer hesitated to receive the commission so gracefully tendered.

Perhaps his revolutionary blood still stirred within him. During the period of his English mission he had contended with his former foes for "free trade and sailors' rights," but now he was called upon to use a much sharper weapon than diplomacy in vindicating his country's long-endured wrongs.

That this appointment gratified those who knew him best is shown by the following extract from an address of one of the most accomplished public

men of the day, who did not hold the same political views as General Pinckney.

"This section of the Union cannot but feel an honorable pride in the summons of one of our members to a most conspicuous public station. Well may it inspire the confidence of the nation and the fears of its enemies, when Cincinnatus quits his retirement. The Carolinian cannot fail to recognize in this allusion the talents and services of Major-General Pinckney, long and deservedly beloved. In this gentleman are combined as many of the qualities of Washington as perhaps the world is ever destined to behold in the person of one individual."¹

The general began at once to organize his widely scattered command. Three things were obviously necessary. First, to call out and organize the troops in his military district, and to occupy the most eligible strategic points. Second, to defend over six hundred miles of seacoast, and fortify the most important harbors along its shores, in order to guard them against visits from the British fleet. Third, to keep a wary eye upon the Indian tribes on the western borders, whose scalping-knives were sharp, and ever ready for the fray.

The greatest difficulty which he encountered was to organize the forces under his command. A laborious correspondence was carried on with the governors of the States, with reference to the enrolment and equipment of their troops. Similar efforts were made to stimulate the commanders

¹ Craft's *Oration*, 1812.

of regiments and brigades to hasten the enlistment and organization of the men. It was a difficult matter to get reports of their numbers and equipment. There are hundreds of his letters in the War Office in Washington, attesting his persevering attempts to get the necessary information from his subordinates. He tried first the effect of patriotic appeals to the commanders of regiments and brigades. When this failed to bring a response, he used the language of authority, ordering them to report at once their numbers, arms, tents, and military stores. If they still failed to report satisfactorily, a court-martial was ordered to try the offenders, and punish their disobedience of orders.

While the cry for free trade and sailors' rights had power over the maritime States, and over the commercial cities, it failed to touch the hearts of the farmers of the interior. It required the combined influence of Congress, and of the governors and legislatures of the States, to enable the commanding general to get his troops into the field. It was slow disheartening work. There was no enthusiasm apparently for the cause. The war was made by the political leaders rather than by the people.

The difference between the war of 1812 and the Confederate contest is very striking. In the latter, the people sprang to arms. Within six months after the secession of the Southern States, and within a few weeks after the civil war began at Fort Sumter, companies, regiments, and brigades were organized, mustered into service,

armed, equipped, and hurried to the post of danger. The same coast line, which, in 1812, General Pinckney had tried with such insufficient means to defend, was, by the popular enthusiasm of 1861, securely defended with military works extending from Charleston to Savannah. The capture of Port Royal taught the Confederates to abandon the Sea Islands, as General Lee had strongly advised, and adopt a line of defences along the main land. That line resisted every assault, from fleet or army. The defence of Fort Sumter, through eighteen months' bombardment by the heaviest artillery ever used in war, exhibited courage, powers of endurance, and fertility of resource unsurpassed on this continent. Sumter will always illumine American history.

The protection of the seacoast, open for six hundred miles to the British fleet, was a matter of urgent necessity. The general visited in person the chief seaports in the three States, and directed their plans of defence. He devoted his attention especially to the deeper harbors, such as Wilmington, Charleston, Beaufort, Savannah, and Darien. He established a strong military post at Point Peter, at the mouth of the St. Mary's River, the southernmost point of his command, and of the United States territory, for Florida was still a Spanish possession. It had been his habit to anticipate invasion via Florida, and he constantly looked for Great Britain to avail herself again of the aid of her Spanish ally, and assail the United States through this gate. Hence he regarded Point Peter as an important post, and had it well

garrisoned by detachments from the South Carolina and Georgia troops.

But Canada afforded such facilities for attacking our country that Great Britain took advantage of them, and for the first two years of the war all contests on land were upon our Northern boundary, and the Southern department escaped invasion.

The command of the sea gave Great Britain vast advantages; her fleets threatened the Atlantic cities, and put the whole seaboard in peril. The harbors of Charleston, Savannah, and Wilmington were often blockaded. All during the year 1813 the Southern coast was kept in continual fear by marauding expeditions.

"Small towns in Virginia and North Carolina were sacked. Barns, stables, mills, founderies, and other objects of molestation were burned and plundered by the British soldiers. Their trident was trailed in the dust of contemptible warfare."

Proclamations were sent ashore by the admiral, "inviting all persons who desired to move from the United States to Europe or the West Indies to make their wishes known, and vessels would be sent to receive them at any point and convey them to any part of his Majesty's dominions." Attempts to entice slaves were parts of this unworthy warfare. "Not satisfied with pillaging the houses, Admiral Cockburn and his followers also stole slaves, not to emancipate them, but to sell them in the West Indies."

The only successful effort which the British made to enter our harbors was at Port Royal.

That magnificent harbor, the deepest and most capacious on the Southern coast, often afforded shelter to their fleets. It was entirely beyond the power of the commanding general to protect it by any cannon then in use, and the enemy raided and plundered the planters' homes and carried off slaves and cotton. They threatened the town of Beaufort by a detachment of their flotilla; but by a brave parade of very small means of defence, the troops stationed there frightened off their foes.

The only serious attempt at invasion was made at Point Peter in January, 1815. The British force, fifteen hundred strong, made a demonstration against it. It was occupied by a detachment commanded by Major Messias, to whom General Pinckney had intrusted the defence; but finding it too strong to be successfully attacked, the British forces retired to their fleet. With these two exceptions there was no attempt to bring the war into the South until the invasion of New Orleans, although the country and its commander were constantly harassed by the fleets which hovered along the Southern coast.

The only retaliatory measure which we could adopt against this marauding warfare was the equipment of privateers. Lloyd's list contains notices of more than five hundred British vessels captured by American privateers, within seven months of the declaration of war. The Southern ports took an active part in this mode of retaliation. General Pinckney encouraged the citizens of Charleston, Savannah, and other ports to fit out

privateers, which he enabled them to arm and send out against British shipping. These armed vessels not only protected our own coast, but extended their voyages to the West Indies; and brought into our harbors many valuable prizes, some laden with the munitions of war.

THE CREEK WAR. 1814.

While the attention of the general was directed to the ocean, a storm burst upon our Western borders which spread consternation through the land. Great Britain, by her Canadian possessions, and by her alliance, offensive and defensive, with Spain, had obtained supreme control over the Indian tribes, from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico. She incited them to a general effort against the white intruders, and promised to circumscribe the United States within the Ohio and Mississippi rivers; and also to restore Louisiana and all Florida to Spain.

We have but a faint idea of the power of the Southern Indians in 1812, or of the extent of their territory. The mountains of North and South Carolina, of East Tennessee and Georgia, were occupied by the Cherokees. The Creeks, the Choctaws, and the Chickasaws owned the western part of Georgia and the Mississippi Territory, comprehending the present States of Alabama and Mississippi. The Creeks numbered 30,000, were warlike, and well supplied with arms by British emissaries, through Mobile and Pensacola.

The celebrated Tecumseh had come from the Ohio, to urge the Southern tribes to join in a

concerted attack upon the intruders on their native soil.

The plans of this remarkable man indicate more comprehensive statesmanship than any other Indian has exhibited. His foresight made him the most determined enemy of the United States, and an earnest friend of Great Britain. His views went beyond those of the English government, for he aimed at exterminating all the whites west of the Alleghanies. One of the Shawnee tribe, whose home was on the borders of the Great Lakes, he had proved his hostility and ability on the battlefields of his own land. The warcry of his braves was heard in many a battle on the Canadian frontier.

At Detroit in 1812 he inspired the American commander with such dread that he preferred a shameful surrender to an inferior British force, rather than incur the risk of the Indian tomahawk.

He had found leisure the year before to visit Tennessee and Alabama to invite the Southern Indians to join a general league against the Americans. His mission was especially to the Creeks, the most powerful of the Southern tribes, who in the language of the day were designated as the "Creek Nation." His arguments were well calculated to excite them against their white neighbors. The arts of civilization aroused his bitter contempt. "Schools and plows," he said, "were meant for slaves, not for Indians. The English did not try to convert us; the king of England does not want our lands, but the white men do."

His eloquence prevailed over most of his race. The Choctaws refused; but the other three tribes, especially the Creeks, listened to his voice, and many agreed to join the hostile movement against the settlers along our Western borders.

Warned by friendly Indians, many of the whites fled to some place of safety; many took refuge in a strong stockade, termed Fort Mimms, on the Alabama River. On the 30th of August, 1813, the Creeks began the bloody work by the capture of Fort Mimms, and the massacre of men, women, and children to the number of four hundred, who had taken shelter there. Throughout their borders many confiding settlers experienced the treachery of the vindictive savages.

The States bordering on the Indian Territory acted promptly. Tennessee called for five thousand men, and sent the first detachment out under General Coffee. General Jackson followed with a second column to assail the enemy on the north. Governor Claiborne of Louisiana marched with another force, composed of whites and friendly Indians, to attack the hostile tribes on the west. The Georgia column, two thousand strong, under Floyd, assailed them from the east.

This triple movement was directed by General Pinckney in order to distract the Indians, and concentrate this force in the Creek Nation. Each commander encountered the savage enemy, and struck some timely blows. Learning from Jackson's despatches the obstructions which he encountered from the unreliability of his volunteer troops, General Pinckney gave him effectual aid

by putting a regiment of regulars under his orders, to give stability to his army, as this letter testifies :—

“Your despatches of December 14 led me to conclude what would probably soon be the diminished state of your forces. I therefore immediately ordered to your support Colonel Williams’s regiment of twelve-months’ men, and wrote to the governor of Tennessee urging him to complete the requisition of five thousand for the time authorized by law. I learned from the person who brought your letter that Colonel Williams’s regiment is marching to join you. If the fifteen hundred of the quota should also be furnished by Governor Blount, you will, in my opinion, have force sufficient for the object to be attained. The largest computation that I have heard of the hostile Creek warriors made by any competent judge is four thousand. At least one thousand of them have been killed or disabled; they are badly armed and supplied with ammunition; little doubt can exist that two thousand of our men would be infinitely superior to any number they can collect.”

Thus reënforced, Jackson penetrated the heart of the nation, attacked their fortified towns, and effectually broke their spirit.

The crushing blow was struck at Emuchfau, or Horseshoe Bend as it was termed by the whites, an Indian town on the Tallapoosa River. The curve of the stream enclosed a small peninsula, well adapted for defence. The narrow neck of land was strongly fortified by the Indians with a breastwork of pine-trees, with loopholes for their

riflemen. Here the larger part of the surviving warriors were gathered. Determined to cut off all chance of escape, Jackson sent General Coffee with twelve hundred men, one half of the number whites, and one half friendly Indians, to surround the bend on the opposite shore. Planting his cannon in front of the stockade, Jackson opened fire upon it, and in spite of its strong position, his forces, embittered by the atrocities of the Indians, attacked it with such impetuosity as to carry the barricade and slaughter its defenders.

While the attention of the Creeks was directed to the front, the Cherokees in Jackson's army swam the river, seized the canoes along the shore, and carried them to the opposite bank; two hundred of Coffee's men quickly crossed the stream, climbed the bluff, and opened fire upon the Indians in the rear. Between these two fires hundreds were slain, and numbers plunged into the river, but the Americans on the other bank commanded the stream, and the painted head of many a warrior sunk beneath the water. Others hid under the banks of the river, and were hunted out by the troops. Eight or nine hundred warriors were killed, five hundred women and children were captured; a few, twenty to thirty it was estimated, escaped.

Finding the subjugation of the Indians a more difficult task than he had anticipated, General Pinckney had collected an additional force of two thousand men from the western counties of North and South Carolina, and ordered them to the Indian Territory. Following as soon as other claims

permitted, he overtook them on the march, and reached the scene of hostilities just after this last event, and assumed command of the operations.

Recognizing Jackson's military talents and his peculiar skill in Indian warfare, General Pinckney allowed full scope to his energies, and gave him a cordial support with the troops under his command. He only insisted upon Jackson's securing the fruits of his victories by a chain of fortified posts extending through the Creek territory. The most important of these was laid out under General Pinckney's direction, near the old French town of Toulouse, at the junction of the Coosa and the Tallapoosa rivers, and called by him Fort Jackson, in honor of the brave Tennessean. These posts, which General Pinckney garrisoned with troops from North and South Carolina, increased the terror which Jackson had inspired, and put an end to the Indian war.

"At the time that these events happened at the American Toulouse, the last of the French Peninsular armies 'driven out of Spain' was bravely fighting the battle of Toulouse in the south of France, where the Duke of Wellington effected his entrance into that country, and overthrew the greatest of modern generals."

Mr. Ingersoll has drawn a graphic picture of the concluding event of the war and of its two prominent figures.

"Generals Pinckney and Jackson were eminent Americans, both natives of South Carolina; they had met as members of Congress when Philadelphia was the seat of government, and were brought

together to close the Creek war at Toulouse in Alabama, the one then terminating, the other beginning, distinguished public service.

"Pinckney, born one of the gentry of South Carolina, educated in Europe, brought up in refinement and luxury, with opulent and distinguished connections, was held in high social as well as political esteem. Jackson was alone in the world, without a relative, or fortune, or education beyond its mere rudiments. The accomplishments and elegancies of refined youth to which Pinckney was born and bred were unknown to Jackson.

"Pinckney negotiated at Madrid the treaty with Spain in 1795, Jackson that with the Creek Nation in 1814. In that interval of less than twenty years, the vast Spanish empire had rapidly declined. The treaty then signed by Pinckney and the Prince of Peace designated the southern boundary of the United States from the Spanish colonies of East and West Florida, and the middle of the channel of the Mississippi River as their western boundary. It stipulated that the high contracting parties shall by all means in their power maintain peace and harmony among the several Indian nations who inhabit the country adjacent to the boundaries of the two Floridas; and restrain by force all hostilities on the part of the Indian nations within their boundaries; and that Spain will not suffer her Indians to attack the citizens of the United States, nor the Indians inhabiting their territory; that no treaty but of peace shall be made by either party with the Indians living within the boundaries of the other.

“No one, therefore, knew better than General Pinckney how that treaty was infringed by Spanish agents under English influence. That leading treaty in American diplomacy stipulates those generous rules of international government which the United States have always maintained.

“After serving his country with distinction in military, civil, and diplomatic capacity, Major Pinckney was appointed by President Madison major-general, with the command of the Southern States. His honorable course was drawing to a close, as Jackson’s great career was beginning, when they met in the wilds of Alabama to dictate terms to a conquered people. Less demonstrative, fierce, and commanding than Jackson, General Pinckney was a man of tried courage and firmness, slight of person, mild, reserved, but inflexible and high-minded. From the palaces of Madrid and the pleasures of London to the wilderness of Alabama and the privations of Fort Jackson — what a change for the one! Emerging from a frontier life to rise to the summit of American elevation — what a career for the other, who was long after, even by admirers of his great abilities, called a Tennessee barbarian!

“The despatches to the War Department of the two men illustrate their different temperaments. General Pinckney announces, almost with a sigh, the conclusion of the war, and the necessity for such severity towards a foe, who never asked, nor ever showed mercy. General Jackson announces the same result; but with the spirit of an Indian warrior says, ‘Determined to exterminate the sav-

ages I moved against them,' etc. And he kept his word."

Mr. Ingersoll might have made his contrast still stronger. General Pinckney was by nature and education a lawmaker, skilled in making treaties, careful of observing them. General Jackson was by nature and training a lawbreaker, at least until the responsibilities of office taught him respect for vested rights. So general was the impression of his lawlessness that when he was nominated for the presidency, a sarcastic opponent asked, "Where was the propriety of selecting a man to execute the laws of the United States, who had spent his life in violating every law on the statute-book of his native State?" Allowing for the exaggeration incidental to a presidential election, there was truth enough in the charge to give it point.

The intercourse between the two generals inspired General Pinckney with high appreciation of Jackson's abilities, and this led to ulterior and important consequences in American history. General Pinckney had already requested the Secretary of War to relieve him of a part of his command. It was impossible for one man to supervise a military field, embracing the Atlantic coast and the country on the Gulf. Another military district had been formed in compliance with his suggestion, and he recommended the President to appoint General Jackson as its commander. There were six prominent candidates for the position strongly urged by other parties, of whom General Claiborne of Louisiana was the most

eminent. But General Jackson was selected for the post, and the conqueror of the Indians thus became the hero of New Orleans, and ultimately the President of the United States.

In the only interview I ever had with that remarkable man, he referred in the warmest terms to his old commander; and acknowledged his many obligations to him for his success in life.

We conclude this narrative of the Creek war with one gleam of lofty patriotism.

"The most striking circumstance of the submission of these savages was Weatherford's immolation of himself for the rest of his countrymen. He led the attack at Fort Mimms and was one of the chief perpetrators of its atrocities. After the storming of Emuchfau, General Jackson required that he should be surrendered for execution, as is customary when Indian murders are committed. The vanquished but fearless chieftain, still reeking with the blood of the Mimms massacre, disdaining to be taken captive, and escaping all General Jackson's efforts to capture him, nobly resolved on a bolder alternative, which proved the means of his security. Contriving to elude Jackson's sentinels and guards, he made good his entrance unperceived to the general's presence, who was amazed at such a guest, but, always collected, betrayed no movement of surprise. "General," said the brave barbarian, "I have fought you with all my might, and done all the harm I could. But you have conquered. I am in your power to do with me as you will. I have only to lament the misfortunes of my people.

For myself I am prepared for any fate. Behold me in your presence, but not at your feet; your captive, but no suppliant." Jackson was too generous and too wise, to take the life of such a prisoner. He treated him with respect, won him by kindness, and made good use of him in inducing others of his nation to throw themselves on the victor's mercy.

Leaving garrisons in the forts established in the Indian Territory, General Pinckney returned to the seaboard to resume the supervision of his exposed command. The Creek war was the only attempt at conquest in his department, unless we except Amelia Island, on the confines of Georgia and Florida. By orders from the War Department he had occupied that island, which properly belonged to Florida, and held it for a short time with the troops under his command; but reasons of state led the President to order its restoration to the Spanish authority.

There was no attempt at invasion of the Southern States by the British, beyond the marauding expeditions on the North Carolina coast, and at Beaufort and Point Peter. The war was entirely a war of defence against the power which commanded the sea. General Pinckney had no opportunity of meeting the enemy in the field, or of winning laurels from his former foes.

But if no brilliant exploits marked his administration, there were no lamentable failures, such as those on the Canadian frontier. Of all the revolutionary generals, he was the only one who did not forfeit his reputation in this second conflict with Great Britain.

“Dearborn, Wilkinson, Hull, Hampton, all failed in their efforts. The year 1813 closed with disasters from all points north and south from Champlain to Erie. Nor did our arms fare better, from the Great Lakes to the Ohio. Harrison, Hampton, Winchester, Armstrong, and Boyd were all there, when this complete ruin marked the retrograde of our arms.” So wrote the historian of the war, Mr. Ingersoll, when summing up the barren results of that campaign. Not until 1814, when Scott, Gaines, Macomb, and other more enterprising generals came to the front, was there anything to counterbalance the military disasters. But if our reputation suffered on land, Perry and McDonald on the Lakes redeemed the national character; while American frigates on the ocean not only held their own, but snatched from the ruler of the waves her long recognized supremacy.

The rumor of an invasion on a large scale, threatened by England, called forth all General Pinckney's energy to put his command in a state of defence; but the storm passed by our shores, and struck New Orleans instead. Jackson was there, and proved equal to the emergency. He closed the war by the most brilliant victory which has ever been won in America.

The news of Jackson's great success reached General Pinckney just after the proclamation of peace; and with untarnished reputation the veteran commander gladly sheathed his sword, and returned to his peaceful avocations.

THOMAS PINCKNEY.

DOMESTIC LIFE. 1815-1828.

HAVING traced General Pinckney's public career, we may now look at his personal characteristics and his domestic life.

He was rather above the average height, spare in figure, and remarkably upright in person. His health was excellent; and his seat in the saddle was as erect at the age of seventy-five as when he was in the riding-school in London.

His manners were calm, courteous, and dignified, possessing some of the charm which had characterized his father. They had satisfied the requirements of the English nobility, and the yet more imperious demands of the Spanish court. His unruffled temper and perfect self-control gave that repose of character which was reflected in his face, his bearing, and in every tone of his voice. He combined firmness with gentleness, dignity with urbanity, authority with modesty, in admirable proportion. Gentle as a child, he nevertheless inspired all who approached him, in public or private, with sentiments of profound respect.

His refinement was instinctive. In every station, in the family circle, at the social board, in the license of the camp, at the head of an army, he was always the gentleman.

Naturally of an ardent temper, and dealing

much in early life with raw recruits, it was yet recorded of him, by a revolutionary compatriot, "that he had never been known to utter an oath." The portraits taken of him in his younger days indicate an impetuous spirit. But the likeness by Morse (the inventor of the telegraph) brings out the characteristic repose of his nature after he had finally sheathed his sword. It recalls the image of the old patriot in the evening of his days, — a serene and happy evening, cheered by family affection, by a peaceful conscience, and by the reverence of his countrymen, and undimmed by a single cloud, save the memory of his lost daughter, the youngest child, and richest jewel of his home.

His character bore the closest inspection. Truth, sincerity, high principle, were stamped upon him, as upon his elder brother. Scrupulously just in thought, word, and deed, his integrity was never questioned, except in the matter alluded to in the Tench Coxe correspondence.

Honored by his country he was yet more honored at home. Family, relatives, friends, looked up to him with love and reverence, and his descendants cherish his memory as a heritage which neither party virulence nor the storms of war can ever sweep away. Out of his large estate, this is the only inheritance of value which has survived the upheaval of the last thirty years.

Beyond his family circle he was most admired by those who knew him best. The members of his military family in the war of 1812 retained a lasting appreciation of his wisdom and his skill

in handling delicate questions. His last surviving aide, Colonel Ferguson, illustrated this feeling thirty years after the death of his old commander.

A serious difficulty had arisen between two gentlemen of the highest standing in the community. In spite of all efforts of friends to effect a reconciliation, the breach gradually became deeper and wider. "It requires a man like General Pinckney," said Colonel Ferguson to the writer, "to deal with this difficulty. If he were alive this strife would soon be stopped, and the reproach taken away from our community."

General Pinckney had the happy art of conciliation. He did not necessarily antagonize those from whom he was compelled to differ. He could maintain friendly relations with Lord Grenville, though making perpetual demands upon him for redress of grievances; and he could interpose between belligerent gentlemen with delicacy and with success.

The two brothers enjoyed a reputation for courage and a nice sense of honor which made them frequent arbiters in personal and political differences, in the State and beyond its borders, and the service which they thus rendered, unseen by the public, was no mean contribution to their country's welfare.

General Pinckney was twice married. His first wife was the daughter of Jacob and Rebecca Motte. She died in England during her husband's mission to the Court of St. James, leaving two sons and two daughters. The elder daughter married William Lowndes, the statesman; the

other became the wife of Colonel Francis K. Hugger, the friend of La Fayette. The two sons inherited their father's taste, and preferred the position of Carolina planters to the excitement of political life.

After his return to America General Pinckney married another daughter of Rebecca Motte, Mrs. Middleton, the widow of a young Englishman who had crossed the Atlantic to bear arms in the cause of the colonies.

The home of General Pinckney was on the Santee River, among the rich rice-fields of South Carolina. Fairfield, which occupies the boldest bluff on the banks near its mouth, was his first home. But after his return from Europe he resigned that plantation to his eldest son, and purchased another, which he named Eldorado, in remembrance of his Spanish mission, from the golden buttercups which covered the land. The spacious mansion, which he planned and built with his own carpenters, is very suggestive of a French château, with its wide corridors, its lofty ceilings, and its peaked roof of glazed tiles.

Situated on a sandy knoll, jutting out into the rice-fields, embowered by live-oaks with their outstretched arms and lofty magnolias with their glittering foliage, it was a typical Southern home. The house was surrounded on three sides by the native evergreen shrubbery, as verdant in January as in June, through which winding walks, laid out by an English landscape-gardener, gracefully ran, overarched by luxuriant foliage, and sheltered alike from the wintry wind and the summer's sun.

The air was redolent of nature's fresh perfumes. The yellow jessamine, the sweet-scented shrub, and other native plants, which fill our forests with their fragrance, met here in rich profusion. The sweet rose of France, the English and the cape jessamine, mingled with the odors of the orange-blossom in perfect harmony.

Neither the Persian monarch, nor the Turkish sultan, nor Louis XIV. at Versailles, ever inhaled more royal perfumes than Eldorado offered to the lover of nature, as he sauntered through its sylvan glades.

The other senses found their appropriate gratification in these walks. The holly and the caccina, the fringe-tree, the dogwood, and other bright natives from the forest, lent their aid to enlighten the scene.

Birds of gay plumage flitted from bush to bush; the sparrow hopped along the path regardless of man's presence; while the woods were vocal with the joyous warblers uttering their harmonious songs.

Birds abound everywhere along the seacoast of South Carolina; but never have I seen them more numerous than on the banks of the Santee. In walking around these shrubberies, the redbird, in his cardinal's robes; the noisy jay, in gaudy plumage; the trim woodpecker, with his ceaseless tap; the tuneful thrush; and the Carolina mocking-bird, the prima donna of the feathered tribe, charm the eye and ear. More birds, representing a greater variety of species, can be seen in a day—in an hour—in these shrubberies,

than could be found in a month in any part of our mountains, from the Adirondacks to the southern terminus of the Alleghanies.

All through the day dark clouds of the red-winged starling may be seen circling over the rice-fields, in flocks upon which the skilful sportsman seems to make no impression. But immediately after sunset, the animal life comes forth in its plenitude. The mallard, the teal, and other species of ducks return from their retreats in the wide marshes of the coast where they sleep by day, to gather up the rice which bounteous nature leaves for them, long after the crop is harvested. They pass overhead by hundreds and thousands in prolonged array, sometimes in single files, generally in wide-extended ranks, or triangular platoons, the leader at the apex, always with mathematical accuracy, whether by tens, or hundreds, or thousands. For twenty or thirty minutes at this hour the long lines are always visible against the evening sky, and the rapid beating of their wings announces their nightly march.

From the windows of his stately home, General Pinckney could look out upon his own busy fields, and over many miles of rice-lands in the delta of the river. The banks and ditches which marked the separate fields, and the long canals which intersected the whole, like "the rows of lign-aloes" of the prophetic vision, all were spread out before the eye. The quiet of the landscape was often relieved by the white sails of a schooner on the river, but apparently sailing on land, bearing the rice to market.

The daily inspection of his fields and of the rice-mills, the reports of overseers, drivers, and cattle-minders, the forethought necessary to insure a wise direction of two or three hundred laborers, and to provide for twice that number of mouths, and the never-neglected visit to the hospital, with tender care for the sick, — these were the constant duties of the planter, the daily occupation of this prosperous and judicious master. Nor did he forget to visit his carpenters' and blacksmiths' shops daily. His love of mechanical work was very strong. He was always seeking new and improved methods of applying its powers to the cultivation of the soil, and the entire preparation of the crop for market. Of all the cereals, rice requires the most careful and laborious process, to render it fit for human food. The clumsy machinery which the Eastern nations had long employed in milling their rice failed to satisfy the Southern planters. Under their encouragement, a young English mechanic, Jonathan Lucas, developed the Carolina rice-mill, the most perfect specimen of mechanical skill ever applied to the preparation of any crop. These mills have been introduced into Europe and into the East, both in China and India, and they testify that mechanical ingenuity is not confined to the latitude in which the wooden nutmeg originally sprung into being.

Rice-culture requires frequent irrigation, with alternate periods of desiccation, to bring the crop to maturity. A nice and elaborate system of floodgates is requisite to accomplish this double

purpose, and the planter's ingenuity found scope for its exercise in this department. General Pinckney's knowledge of hydraulics and his engineering skill were as usefully employed on the banks of the Santee, as they formerly were in the construction of fortifications in Charleston harbor. His frequent and costly experiments contributed much to the perfection of that system which made the rice-lands of Carolina the model fields of the South, and of the world, as far as that grain is concerned. These experiments demanded much calculation from the master, and much manual labor from his carpenters and blacksmiths. It was a labor of love to the master, but not to the men, for the African hates change as much as the Chinaman.

The love of agricultural experiments was natural in a son of Eliza Lucas, and General Pinckney inherited the taste very strongly. He did not introduce the culture of rice, as she did that of indigo, into South Carolina, but he did much to enlarge the area of its cultivation, to his own profit and to the public good.

Through his second wife General Pinckney became the possessor of a large body of marsh-lands at the mouth of the Santee, adjoining the ocean. It was covered alternately by fresh and by salt water, and so impregnated with the saline element as to be considered entirely unfit for cultivation. When the executor of the Middleton estate handed General Pinckney the titles to this portion of his wife's property, he apologized for offering a gentleman anything so worthless.

But the new owner remembered that the rich lands of Holland had been redeemed from the sea; and he did not regard the case as hopeless. He imported from Holland a skilful engineer, who soon succeeded in protecting the land from the salt water, and thus introduced among the rice-planters of the State the Van Hassel system of embankment.

By repeated experiments General Pinckney at length corrected the saline nature of the soil, and rendered it fit for the culture of rice. By constantly enlarging the cultivated area, he reclaimed a large body of land of inexhaustible fertility, so that from this once contemptible estate he could send to market annually a crop of twenty thousand bushels of rice. Two of his children received the chief part of their inheritance from these reclaimed salt lands.

The fate of this property illustrates the fearful curse of war. Rice-culture requires the command of large capital and regulated labor at the right moment. From the lack of these requisites, the cultivation of this and other contiguous estates has been abandoned, and they are returning to their original condition. The sheriff of the county in which they lie lately notified the owner of part of this property that, unless the taxes were paid, he would proceed to sell it at public auction. The reply of the owner was, that if the sheriff could do so, he would pay him a commission on the sale, inasmuch as he had been trying in vain to sell it for several years past.

There was one other mode in which General

Pinckney improved the agriculture of his native State. No man who had lived so much in England could ever be satisfied with the poor substitutes for cattle which are to be seen in our Southern woods. He imported different breeds of cattle from several parts of Europe, until he ascertained which was best adapted to our climate. The English cattle proved the best for the dairy and for beef; but they could not stand the summer's sun. The Italian breeds suited the rice-fields far better, both in the plow and in the wagon. Any one who saw his farm team of four handsome Tuscans stepping proudly along would scarcely recognize their relationship to the sluggish ox. Many of the planters followed his lead in the improvement of their farming stock, to the great benefit of the State.

Mr. Pinckney's love of agriculture was manifest all through the period of his English mission. Amid the political entanglements of Washington's administration, in spite of ceaseless efforts to liberate imprisoned seamen, to protect American travellers from official insolence and even robbery, in spite of the tax upon his humanity, demanded by the woes of the French refugees, he found time to pursue his agricultural inquiries.

He used the agency of American travellers, when intimacy or favors conferred gave him the right to do so, to collect information upon many specified topics. This correspondence covers a wide range. The various soils of different countries, modes of cultivation, rotation of crops, manures, implements of husbandry, — everything

which could be useful in the improvement of our agriculture was all carefully gleaned from foreign fields.

One Carolinian, who was under special obligations to the ambassador, Mr. James Heyward, sends a detailed account of the canal from the Clyde to the Forth. The length, the cost, the number and size of locks, its dimensions at the top and the bottom, the viaduct across a river, with the span of its lofty arches, the reservoirs by which it was supplied, and the amount of traffic and of the tolls realized therefrom, all are carefully noted in answer to Mr. Pinckney's questions.

Why these details of a canal in Scotland interested him so much does not appear from the correspondence. Was the Santee Canal, connecting the Santee River with the Cooper and with Charleston, in his view? The date of Mr. Heyward's letter is July, 1793. That was the very time when the Santee Canal was inaugurated. The work was begun in 1793, though it was not completed until 1801. From his deep interest in works of internal improvement, we can scarcely doubt that the full data he obtained in Scotland were intended to stimulate the enterprise which his fellow-citizens were about to undertake. The railroads have rendered the canal useless. But it was, when completed, the most important work of its kind in the United States.

Being on the highway between the Northern cities and Charleston, General Pinckney's house seldom lacked guests. Among that number was

an English gentleman of fortune, Adam Hodgson of Liverpool, who spent three years in exploring our country. He brought letters of introduction to General Pinckney, and visited him at Eldorado.

His impressions of this visit are recorded in a volume of "Travels" which he published in 1824. The first thing which struck him as he entered the house was the number and size of the windows, enough to make an Englishman shudder when he recalled the tax upon each pane of glass to which he was accustomed at home.

The library was also a surprise. "My host had an excellent library, comprising many recent and valuable British publications, and a more extensive collection of agricultural works than I had ever seen before in a private library. In works on botany and American ornithology the supply was large. The latter especially interested me, not having seen them before."

He accompanied his host on his daily visits to the fields, the mills, and the hospital, and records his surprise when he heard this "benevolent master order wine and oranges for some sick negroes." He inspected carefully the houses, the food, the clothing of the negroes, and admitted that in these matters our laborers compared favorably with those of other lands. But he could not forget (although *they* did) that they were slaves, and the very thought made his Anglo-Saxon soul shudder more than the window-panes had done.

"Taken by my venerable friend," he notes, "to visit some of the neighbors, we stayed to dinner

at the house of a planter." The easy hospitality probably reminded him of English country homes. He thus states his impressions of General Pinckney: "He would be regarded as second to few in Europe as a statesman, a scholar, and a gentleman."

Although a scientific planter, General Pinckney was a very successful one, and realized a large income from his property. Not only by his own example did he stimulate his neighbors to activity, but by the use of his pen he endeavored to improve the whole agricultural system of the State. His frequent contributions to "*The Southern Agriculturist*," recording the results of his experiments, led others to new views and higher cultivation.

At the annual meeting of the South Carolina Agricultural Society in February, 1828 (the last year of his life), he presented a report upon the culture of other crops, in lieu of rice, upon the alluvial soil of the coast. At the request of the society he had devoted twenty-two acres to experimental crops upon the swamp-lands of the Santee. "Wheat, flax, garden peas, barley, oats, cow peas, French beans, slip potatoes," all received proper attention. The mode of culture, the result in each case, and the adaptation of each to our soil are carefully reported. Soon after his death, one signing himself "A Rice Planter," recorded in "*The Southern Agriculturist*" his impressions of that meeting.

"I was one of those who heard the lucid observations of General Pinckney, that lamented friend

of his country, at the discussions of the agricultural society on rice and other crops. I fear we shall not look upon his like again. Where shall we find another with a mind so refined as his, with manners so polished, with a conception of his country's interests so perfect, with an intellect so capable of embracing the most comprehensive subjects, as well as selecting those of minor importance as they floated by, and converting them all to the public good? Where shall we find a man of motives so pure, so deserving of the full confidence of his fellow-citizens, and so perfectly possessing it? Wise without conceit, and without the blemish of egotism. This is a character seldom met with in any country."

Next to agriculture, architecture was perhaps General Pinckney's strongest natural taste. He built, or superintended the building of, three large and costly houses, — one in Charleston, one on the Santee, and one on Sullivan's Island.

The house at Eldorado was built in conjunction with his mother-in-law. Mrs. Motte had sold her plantation on "the Congarees," and removed to Santee to be near her daughters. She invested some of the proceeds of that sale in the purchase of the land and the erection of the house, aiding General Pinckney in the cost of each, and making her home with him during the rest of her life.

The large rooms, the lofty ceilings, the numerous windows, seem now unsuitable for a winter home, and suggest a lack of practical talent in the builder. But the change of climate will explain the case. The planters then occupied their homes all the year.

There are letters from members of General Pinckney's family, addressed to him while in England during every month in the year, with one exception. That exception is explained by this sentence in a letter from one of his family, dated Eldorado, August 16, 1793: "We expect to go to Charleston next month, for some persons think that the country is not healthy in September." That the rice-fields are fatally unhealthy to the whites during summer is an unquestioned fact; they are now deserted by the white race early in May. The plantations were occupied during summer, as well as winter, until the beginning of this century.

He also built a large and handsome house in George Street, Charleston, upon foundations which had been laid by John Middleton; the same now occupied by the Charleston Waterworks. It was the first, probably the only house, in this city, which had a self-supporting stairway four stories high. The steps are of Portland stone, imported from England early in this century. The cost of the staircase, including materials and labor, amounted to \$14,000. As he had used some of his wife's income in the erection of this house, he gave it up to her only son, John Middleton, as soon as he was prepared to occupy it.

He built another house on Sullivan's Island as a retreat in summer from the heat of the city. It was an admirable plan for a home in our climate. Two stories high, on an elevated foundation, its capacious rooms almost all faced the south, and got the refreshing breeze which ever blows from the

sea. The double stairway, descending on each side of the semi-circular room in the rear, was not only easy of ascent, but positively ornamental with its graceful curve and mahogany railings. It is a difficult problem in architecture to construct a staircase at once roomy, comfortable, and ornamental.

His residence for twenty-five years in England had taught him the value of sea-bathing. He appreciated that healthful luxury, for which our Southern coast offers such unrivalled facilities. He built a bathing-machine on wheels, after the pattern of those which he had seen on the coast of France, which was rolled into the surf, and drawn up by windlass when the bathers gave the signal. Few were the days in which he did not recruit his strength by a dip in the invigorating waves of the Atlantic. His bathing-machine was as prominent a feature on the beach as his house was on the island. After resisting three great hurricanes of this century, the latter was pulled down during the Confederate war, ostensibly because it interfered with a battery; really because fuel was scarce, and the soldiers obtained authority to complete the work of destruction which they had already begun. General Pinckney was patriotic, but I doubt whether he would have sanctioned this ruthless act.

But neither architecture nor agriculture ever supplanted his literary tastes. A return to his library from other duties was his chief recreation. His books were the companions of his life. His library at Eldorado was well supplied with his-

torical, biographical, classical, scientific, and agricultural works. Books of travel and exploration, as well as those of lighter literature, all had their alcoves, and maps in large numbers hung on their appointed racks. The venerable scholar often beguiled his leisure with a page of Terence or a Greek tragedy. At Westminster school he had been the best Greek scholar of his class; and his love of Greek literature lasted through life. One of his aides during the campaign against the Creeks in the year 1814 stated that the only book he found in the general's saddle-bags, was a pocket edition of the Greek poets. At seventy-five years of age he read Greek with a fluency which would surprise most American scholars. Agriculture and books thus formed his daily life; but the social element entered largely into the existence of the Carolina planter. There was a constant commingling of relations, friends, and neighbors. There were few small towns or villages along the coast; it was a rural population. But good roads and an ample supply of carriages and horses made daily intercourse the habit of the people. Except in old Virginia, I doubt if more genuine, habitual hospitality could anywhere be found than in the low country of Carolina. This feeling was embodied in the remark of a venerable citizen who lived higher up on the river. "If I see no carriages under the visitor's shed when I return from my fields to dinner, I say to myself, My friends have not treated me well to-day."

The fate of his library, carefully gathered from England, France, Spain, and America, was some-

what dramatic. Eldorado was so near the mouth of the river as to be exposed to the visits of vessels from the blockading squadron during the Confederate war. The house was shelled by gunboats from the fleet in 1863, and bears the scars of war upon its face. The mills were burnt by a hostile party, landed on the banks, and the house only saved from the torch by the timely arrival of a squadron of Confederate cavalry under command of a grandson of its former owner. They fired upon the incendiaries, who fled to the boats, and extinguished the flames before any harm was done. The library had been packed in boxes and sent to a place of supposed safety higher up the river. When the seaboard was abandoned at the evacuation of Charleston, soldiers and sailors from the fleet at the mouth of the river plundered the rich mansions along its banks. The women and children had already fled in terror towards the interior of the State, and the country was deserted by its white population. Finding the boxes containing General Pinckney's books at Hampton (the home of the Rutledges), the marauders broke them open in pursuit of plunder. Disappointed in their aim, and lacking the literary taste of some naval officers, who had carefully packed the planters' libraries, and shipped them to New York, the soldiers left them in disgust. The negroes who followed the march of the troops, to pick up the jackal's share, helped themselves to such volumes as attracted their eye. The rest they strewed around the house, tearing off the backs of some and splitting others asunder. The

first planter who returned to this region, to gather up some fragments of his own property, found the books strewn so systematically around the house that he could have walked the whole circuit, apparently, without touching the ground. For weeks they were exposed to sun and rain, so that three fourths of them were destroyed. He persuaded the negroes to assist him in gathering up the remnant. When he endeavored to shame them for the wanton destruction of the books, they replied that they had no spite against the owners, but as "the white people got all their sense out of the books," and thus kept them in subjection, they determined to destroy the means by which they had maintained their superiority; a very strong testimony of ignorance to the value of education.

One maxim which General Pinckney acted on with obvious benefit to his family was this: "Persons of wealth should be their own executors."

This rule he followed justly and wisely in the distribution of his estate. He gradually transferred to his children during his life the portions he had bequeathed to them by will, only reserving to his wife and self his home, with enough to support them during the remainder of their lives. By thus administering his own will he kept his heirs from the toils of law, and cut off the most fruitful source of all family quarrels.

Another maxim which General Pinckney habitually followed is thus stated by John Dryden: "Anything, though ever so little, which a man

speaks of himself, in my opinion is still too much."

His reticence is the only trait of his character to which his descendants can ever object. His antipathy to "the offensive ego" was very strong. His whole life was a suppression of the personal element. He could describe Pulaski's charge over guns and ramparts at Savannah; but the hearer would not discover whether he had been present or not.

The writer can recall his account of the surrender of Cornwallis to the family circle, but no word escaped to tell whether he was an eye-witness of the stirring scene. I doubt if he ever told an anecdote of which he was the hero, during all the later part of his life. If compelled to speak of himself, the allusion was brief and modest. His descendants would know much more of his history if he had been less reserved in describing events in which he had played a prominent part. The one who has attempted to write this sketch often wishes that he had had a more garrulous ancestor. A slight infusion of the Dugald Dalghetty element in the composition of Thomas Pinckney would have lightened materially the labors of his biographer.

Thomas Pinckney was the second president of the Cincinnati Society of South Carolina. He succeeded General Moultrie in this office in 1806, and held it for twenty years. In 1825, on the death of his brother, General C. C. Pinckney, he became president-general of the Cincinnati in the United States. The society over which George

Washington, Alexander Hamilton, and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney had successively presided held a far higher place in public esteem than it now does. Membership in the Cincinnati Society was an honor which the French officers who had served in America eagerly coveted. Many letters from noble names in France are found among General Pinckney's papers soliciting this privilege; and profound gratitude was manifested by historical characters for the enrolment of their names on the list.

We can scarcely realize how much this nearest approximation to an American order of nobility was prized one hundred years since. Mr. Jefferson strongly opposed the society on the ground of its aristocratic and monarchical tendency. Had he lived long enough to see how republicanism can grind down every institution in the land as thoroughly as the ice in the glacial era ground down the rocks and hills of the continent, he would realize how vain was his anxiety. Plutocracy, not aristocracy, is the danger of our country.

The last time that the two brothers Pinckney ever appeared together in public was at the reception of La Fayette in Charleston in April, 1825. An open carriage, drawn by four handsome grays, awaited the distinguished guest at the city limits, Boundary, now Calhoun Street. The civil and military bodies, societies of every name, including the Cincinnati, the schools, the citizens, all wearing the broad blue ribbon with the words "Welcome, La Fayette" stamped upon it, lined the

sidewalks far down Meeting Street. When the carriage with La Fayette and his son, the intendant of the city, and Colonel Francis K. Huger reached the corner of George and Meeting streets, the martial music and the shouts of the multitude so excited the horses that they had to be removed, and a more quiet team substituted. During this halt, the marquis, learning that the two Generals Pinckney were in the carriage immediately behind him, ordered the steps of his carriage to be lowered, that he might salute his old companions in arms. The two brothers, in full regimentals, anticipating his purpose, got out of their carriage to meet him. At the corner of George and Meeting streets, in the broad light of day, and in the presence of ten thousand spectators, La Fayette rapturously embraced his old comrades, and kissed them on both cheeks with French enthusiasm.

A committee of the Cincinnati Society waited upon La Fayette, and presented him an address of welcome to South Carolina, upon whose shores he had first touched American soil. In his reply, after a brief allusion to the joy of meeting "so many surviving comrades, and to those whose departure we mourn," he adds this grateful tribute to Thomas Pinckney: "But my fraternal recollections are not confined to this hemisphere. I am happy to have lived to present my personal acknowledgments to the respected president of the South Carolina society, General Thomas Pinckney, for my great and multiplied obligations to him as American Minister in London during my captivity."

The marquis was entertained at dinner by the Cincinnati Society on the same day, the 16th of March, 1825. St. Andrew's Hall, Broad Street, had been fitted up for the reception of the city's guest. There he remained during his visit to Charleston, the intendant, Judge Prioleau, with some of his family, making it his home also for the same period.

On the day of his public reception, as on other occasions, La Fayette rode in an open carriage without his hat, exposed to the rays of a brilliant sun, bowing to the crowds always ready to greet him. There was some apprehension that sun-stroke might be the penalty of his politeness. But the general was an old soldier. Before leaving home for his daily ride, he put a damp towel into his capacious wig, as the writer can testify, from personal observation ; and protected by this helmet, he could indulge his French politeness with perfect impunity. French revolutions and Austrian dungeons had taught him the art of self-preservation.

While the Cincinnati Society and the Agricultural Society enlisted General Pinckney's interest, they did not monopolize it. "*Non nobis solum*" was the motto in his crest; it was illustrated by the lives of the two brothers. Unselfish, public-spirited, generous, they served God, their country, and their generation. Public, social, religious, domestic claims, all received their due. You will find General Pinckney's name on the list of the benevolent, religious, and educational societies of the day. Not only in his own community, but

throughout the State, and in the United States, he gladly aided every movement to promote the welfare of his fellow-citizens.

In all domestic relations General Pinckney was blameless; the filial reverence with which he had regarded his mother was repaid by his descendants. The letters of the two brothers to their mother always began "Honored Madam," and breathe a reverential spirit which might well be imitated in our generation. This filial spirit was rewarded by the long life promised to those who honor their parents. The two brothers reached the ages of seventy-eight and eighty years, and their only sister died at eighty-two. Their fraternal affection lasted to the end of life, and was maintained by constant correspondence and close intercourse. Thomas Pinckney's love for his only sister had something romantic in it; he wrote to her daily during some periods of his life, and the only minute records of his revolutionary history are found in letters to his sister, Mrs. Horry, which escaped the destructive power of war.

The three swords which General Pinckney had used in the wars of the Revolution and of 1812 he bequeathed by will to his three sons, with the injunction that "they never be drawn in any private quarrel, and never remain in their scabbards, when their country demanded their service." In obedience to his example and his instructions, fourteen of his descendants served in the Confederate army; one was a major-general, one was killed in battle at Chancellorsville, one at Sumter, and others shared the fate of captives.

General Pinckney's treatment of his slaves was wise, systematic, and humane, as you might infer from the justice and generosity of his character. He regarded them much as an English gentleman did the tenants of his ancestral estates, not as chattels, but as laborers providentially subjected to his command, for whose well-being he was responsible, in return for their services. His negroes were inherited; he neither bought nor sold them, except to prevent the separation of families, or as a punishment for crime.

That was the rule of his life, and one which he transmitted to his descendants. The only exception to this rule was the purchase of an estate belonging to female relations who appealed to him to relieve them of property which they could not manage. He hired their negroes for many years, and, as they had intermarried with his own, he purchased them all, at the joint request of owners and slaves. He never permitted his overseers to inflict cruel punishment upon his negroes, and required of them a report of all cases of discipline with a statement of the offence, and of the amount of punishment. He carried out fully the idea of the patriarchal relationship which the Southern planter felt towards his slaves; and the slaves gloried in their masters, and looked up to them as the Scottish clansmen did to their ancestral chief.

Combining firmness with kindness in the management of his negroes, General Pinckney had the comfort of faithful and capable servants in the house, in the kitchen, and in the stable. One of

his attendants will live in history, at least on canvas. In the familiar picture of the Washington family by Savage, a stately black butler stands behind Washington's chair. That is General Pinckney's body-servant, John Riley, a freeman, for many years in his employ. His wife was Mrs. Pinckney's maid, who accompanied her mistress to England. Not wishing to separate him from his wife during his residence abroad, General Pinckney carried Riley with him to England. As the painter who was then engaged on the Washington family picture had no black model at hand, he borrowed John Riley from the American ambassador to pose as one of Washington's servants, and thus contribute the requisite local coloring to the home of a Virginia planter.

General Pinckney's sons inherited their father's spirit in the treatment of their slaves. They introduced among the rice-planters of the Santee a more kindly feeling towards their servants, and some improvement both in their diet and in the hours of labor. One of his sons became the leader in the efforts to evangelize the African, by systematic instruction in the truths of the gospel. He was the first layman in the South who called attention in print to the duty of the planters to give religious instruction to their slaves. The whole system of Methodist missions on the Southern plantations grew out of a correspondence between himself and Dr. Capers, the superintendent of work among the slaves. Within a few years fifty chapels were built by the planters along the seaboard of South Carolina, for the religious instruc-

tion of their slaves, and fifty thousand negroes were members of Christian churches in South Carolina. In the Episcopal Church, so faithful had been the labors of her clergy, that in 1860 the number of black communicants was only two hundred less than the number of white. At the beginning of the war the white communicants in this diocese were 3,166, while the colored were 2,960; conclusive evidence that the Southern slaveholder had not neglected the religious welfare of this dependent race.

The regard for his slaves of his only remaining son was strongly manifested during the Confederate war. He had removed his negroes away from the seaboard to a plantation which he purchased in Abbeville. To provide food and clothing for two hundred slaves was a heavy tax upon his resources at a time when all income ceased and corn was worth \$10 a bushel. The mills in the State could not possibly supply the demand for cotton or woollen goods. He established looms on his plantation, and set the women to spin cotton, in order to clothe his people; and cut up his carpets to supply the deficiency. Shoes were still harder to be obtained. [The last pair which the writer purchased during the war cost \$60.] His carpenters were employed to make wooden soles, topped with the remainder of his carpets, or manufactured wooden sabots, such as French peasants wear. His efforts to provide for his negroes impoverished his descendants for some years.

In his religious views General Pinckney fol-

lowed the steps of his ancestors. He was a constant attendant on the services of the Episcopal Church in town and country. He was the largest contributor to his parish church at Santee, and often served on the vestry. He took an earnest part in the worship of the church, and his grave tones were heard in the responsive service. Though deaf in later life he had learned to read the language of the clergyman's lips and joined in the response at the right moment. Devout in his habits, he read the Word of God habitually, and ever sought the blessing of Heaven. He inculcated upon his children the value of prayer; and he honored his parents by following their precepts.

Thomas Pinckney died on the 2d of November, 1828, in the seventy-ninth year of his age. The uniform companies of the 16th and 17th regiments of South Carolina troops, a squadron of cavalry, and a detachment from the United States garrison at Fort Moultrie, formed the military escort at his funeral. His horse, with its trappings and empty saddle, dressed in crape, followed immediately after the bier, attended by his three aides, Colonels James Ferguson, Lewis Morris, and Frederic Kinloch, then the officers of the United States, and State of South Carolina. The reverend clergy of all denominations, officers and members of the Cincinnati, and of other societies, and a large concourse of citizens, followed his body to the grave. Minute guns were fired from the city square while the procession moved from his house in Legare Street to St. Philip's Church, on the north side of which his remains repose.

"On no similar occasion has public respect and veneration been more forcibly and generally expressed, unless it was at the funeral of his illustrious brother three years before." Surviving all other revolutionary contemporaries of high rank in military or civil life, the two brothers retained the grateful veneration of their countrymen to the end of their days. No such public honors were manifested on any other similar event since the death of Washington, and never since, except at the funeral of John C. Calhoun.

We conclude this sketch with the testimony of three writers of a later generation.

Hugh S. Legare, the most accomplished scholar that South Carolina has produced, points to General Pinckney in his old age, "as an example of the loftiest virtue, exercised in all the important duties of life, with all that is most amiable and winning in social habitudes, in polished manners, and in elegant taste."

It was General Pinckney's good fortune not only to retain the reverence of his fellow-citizens, but the full confidence of Washington. There were so many points of resemblance "as often occasioned a parallel to be drawn between him and the venerated Washington," as Alexander Hamilton had noted. We do not question the exclusive right of Washington to occupy the position to which his eulogist has lifted him. "The mould which Providence used in forming Washington was cast aside, so that the world may never hope to see a second; certainly none has yet appeared." That peerless man still rises above the

general level of humanity, like the Alps above the plain of Europe, but the resemblance which Alexander Hamilton had pointed out still exists. The same calm judgment, unswayed by passion, prejudice, or interest, the same perfect self-control, the same stern fidelity to duty, the same singular disinterestedness, the prominent traits of Washington, were there, if not in the same bold outline, yet in general conformity of character, but so toned down by softening influences that the rugged features assume an aspect calculated to attract, rather than to awe or repel, the observer.

Bold as this comparison now seems, when distance enables us to judge more accurately the true stature of the revolutionary actors, Colonel William Henry Drayton did not hesitate to make it. Addressing the people of Charleston after General Pinckney's death, he employed this strong language: "Perhaps he combined more of the characteristics of Washington than the world will ever see in a single individual."

William Henry Trescot, in his model history of American diplomacy,¹ has briefly sketched the two revolutionary brothers in language which, if eulogistic, is nevertheless true.

"It is difficult to resist the desire to linger with affectionate regard in sight of characters so high, so pure, so true and just in all their dealings as the two Pinckneys. Cultivated in their tastes, and simple in their manners, placed by fortune where the exercise of a graceful hospitality was the habit of their daily life, and the assumption

¹ Page 170.

of high duties the natural consequence of their position, brave and gentle, free with all the genuine frankness of the Southern nature, and yet grave, as became earnest men in trying times, able, unselfish, active, their success in life was free from all the feverish excitement of political adventure. They sought neither place nor power, but rose gradually from duty to duty, illustrating in the fulness of their lives and services the virtues of the class to which they belonged, and bearing through a long and spotless career, —

“ ‘ Without abuse,
The grand old name of gentleman.’ ”

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